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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
The Sea-board Slave States.....	217	The Coloured Population of Canada.....	229
The Hon. Charles Sumner's health.....	219	Jamaica.....	230
Colonel J. C. Fremont.....	221	The Vote for the United-States Army Appropria- tion Bill.....	231
American Anti-Slavery Items.....	223	The Slave-trade at New York.....	232
Miscellanea.....	225	A Parallel to Father Dickson.....	236
The Struggle in the United States.....	225	Review.....	237
The Slave-trade to Brazil.....	226	Donations and Subscriptions.....	240
Impressment of Free Negroes in Jamaica...	229		

### THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

OUR author proceeds to give information respecting the general condition of the slaves in Virginia, which he states as being, on the whole, better than is usually supposed, and very much in advance of what it was even a few years back. Still the picture is a melancholy one, and no thoughtful man can admit that tolerable food, clothing, and lodging—just such as would be given to cattle—are any compensation for the loss of liberty, and of every social tie.

The following extract is worth careful reading, especially the address of Bishop Meade. How tenderly he touches upon the question of "stripes and vexation." How pains-taking he is in enforcing as gospel doctrine that it is the duty of the slave to work for his master, faithfully and willingly, as the only means of salvation. Is it to be wondered at that unbelief should gain ground when such blasphemy as this is uttered by the heads of the Church—and of the Anglican Church too—in the Slave States.

#### RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

"With regard to the moral and religious condition of the slaves, I cannot, either from what I observe, or from what is told me, consider it in any way gratifying. They are forbidden by law to meet together for worship, or for the purpose of mutual improvement. In the cities, there are churches especially for them, in which the exercises are conducted by white clergymen. In the country, there is usually a service, after that for the whites especially, in all the churches, which, by the way, are not very thickly scattered. In one parish, about twenty miles

from Richmond, I was told that the coloured congregation in the afternoon is much smaller than that of the whites in the morning; and it was thought not more than one-fifth of the negroes living within a convenient distance were in the habit of attending it; and of these many came late, and many more slept through the greater part of the service.

"A goodly proportion of them, I am told, 'profess religion,' and are received into the fellowship of the churches; but it is evident, of the greater part even of these, that their idea of religion, and the standard of morality which they deem consistent with a 'profession' of it, is very degraded. That they are subject to intense excitements, often really maniacal, which they consider to be religious, is true; but as these are described, I cannot see that they indicate any thing but a miserable system of superstition, the more painful that it employs some forms and words ordinarily connected with true Christianity.

"A Virginia correspondent of the *N.-Y. Times*, writing upon the general religious condition of the State, and of the comparative strength and usefulness of the different churches, says:

"The Baptists also number (in Eastern Virginia) 44,000 coloured members. This makes a great difference. Negroes join the church—perhaps in a great majority of cases—with no ideas of religion. I have but little confidence in their religious professions. Many of them I hope are very pious; but many of them are great scoundrels—perhaps the great majority of them—regardless of their church profession as a rule of conduct. They are often baptized in great numbers, and the Baptist Church (so exemplary in so

much) is to blame, I fear, in the ready admission it gives to the negroes.

"The Baptist Church generally gets the negroes: where there are no Baptists, the Methodist. *Immersion* strikes their fancy. It is a palpable, overt act, that their imagination can take hold of. The ceremony mystically impresses them, as the ceremonies of Romanism affect the devotees of that connection. They come up out of the water, and believe they see "the Lord." In their religion, negroes are excessively superstitious. They have all sorts of "experiences," and enjoy the most wonderful revelations. Visions of the supernatural are of nightly occurrence, and the most absurd circumstances are invested with some marvellous significance. I have heard that the great ordeal, in their estimation, a "seeker" had to pass, was being *held over the infernal flames by a thread or a hair*. If the thread does not break, the suspender is "in the Lord."

"It is proper, therefore, I think, to consider this circumstance, in estimating the strength of a church, whose communicants embrace such a number of negroes. Of the Methodists, in Eastern Virginia, some six or seven thousand are coloured."

"This condition of the slaves is not necessarily a reproach to those whose duty it more particularly is to instruct and preach the true Gospel to them. It is, in a great degree, a necessary result of the circumstances of their existence. The possession of arbitrary power has always, the world over, tended irresistibly to destroy humane sensibility, magnanimity, and truth. Look at the sovereigns of Europe in our day. There is not one, having sovereign power, that would not, over and over again, for acts of which he is notoriously and undeniably guilty, under our laws, be confined with the most depraved of criminals. It is, I have no doubt, utterly impossible, except as a camel shall enter the eye of a needle, for a man to have the will of others habitually under his control, without its impairing his sense of justice, his power of sympathy, his respect for manhood, and his worshipful love of the Infinite Father.

"But it is much more evident that involuntary subjection directly tends to turpitude and demoralization. True, it may tend only to the encouragement of some beautiful traits, to meekness, humility, and a kind of generosity and unselfishness. But where has it not ever been accompanied by the loss of the nobler virtues of manhood, especially of the noblest, the most essential of all, that without which all others avail nothing for good: TRUTH. What is the matter with the Irish? No one can rely on them—they cannot rely on one another. Though sensitive to duty, and in their way conscientious, they absolutely are not able to comprehend a rule, a law; and that a man can be fixed by his promise they have never thought. A promise with them signifies merely an expressed intention. Irishmen that have long associated with us, we can depend on, for we have their confidence; but to a stranger still, their word is not worth a farthing. They are inveterate falsifiers, on the general principle that no man can want information of them but for his own good, and

that good can only exist to their injury. What is the cause of this? their religion?—that to which it is attributed in their religion is the effect of it, more than the cause. It is the subjection of generations of this people to the will of landlords, corrupted to fiendish insensibility by the long-continued possession of nearly arbitrary power. The capacity of mind for truth and reliance has been all but lost, by generations of unjust subjection.

"It is the same—only in some respects better, and some far worse—even already, with the African slave of the South. Every Virginian acknowledges it. Religion, to call that by the name which they do, has become subject to it. 'They will lie in their very prayers to God.'

"I find illustrations of the trouble that this vice occasions on every hand here. I just heard this, for instance, from a lady. A house-maid, who had the reputation of being especially devout, was suspected by her mistress of having stolen from her bureau several trinkets. She was charged with the theft, and vociferously denied it. She was watched, and the articles discovered openly displayed on her person as she went to church. She still, on her return, denied having them—was searched, and they were found in her pockets. When reproached by her mistress, and lectured on the wickedness of lying and stealing, she replied, with the confident air of knowing the ground she stood upon, 'Law, mam, don't say I's wicked; ole Aunt Ann says it allers right for us poor coloured people to 'popiate whatever of de wite folks' blessins de Lord puts in our way.' Old Aunt Ann was a sort of mother in the coloured Israel of the town.

"It is told me as a singular fact, that everywhere on the plantations the agrarian notion has become a fixed point of the negro system of ethics: that the result of labour belongs of right to the labourer; and on this ground even the religious feel justified in using 'Massa's' property for their own temporal benefit. This they term 'taking,' and it is never admitted to be a reproach to a man among them that he is charged with it, though 'stealing,' or taking from another than their master, and particularly from one another, is so. They almost universally pilfer from the household stores when they have a safe opportunity. Thieving, by the way, is not a national vice of the Irish, because the opportunities and temptations for it have been too small to have bred the habit.

"Jefferson says of the slaves:

"Whether further observation will or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart she will have done them justice. That disposition to theft, with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of the moral sense. The man in whose favour no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favour of others. When arguing for ourselves, we lay it down as fundamental, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right; that without this, they are mere arbitrary rules, founded in force, and not in conscience, and it is a pro-



blem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave; and whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him. That a change of the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas of moral right and wrong, is neither new, nor peculiar to the colour of the blacks. Homer tells us it was so, 2600 years ago:

“ ‘Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day  
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth  
away.’ ”

“The following is a specimen of the most careful kind of preaching ordinarily addressed by the white clergy to the black sheep of their flocks. It is by Bishop Meade, of the Church of England in Virginia, and is copied from a published volume of sermons, recommended by him to masters and mistresses of his diocese, for use in their households.

“ ‘And think within yourselves what a terrible thing it would be, after all your labours and sufferings in this life, to be turned into hell in the next life, and, after wearing out your bodies in service here, to go into a far worse slavery when this is over, and your poor souls be delivered over into the possession of the devil, to become his slaves for ever in hell, without any hope of ever getting free from it! If, therefore, you would be God’s freemen in heaven, you must strive to be good, and serve him here on earth. Your bodies, you know, are not your own; they are at the disposal of those you belong to; but your precious souls are still your own, which nothing can take from you, if it be not your own fault. Consider well, then, that, if you lose your souls by leading idle, wicked lives here, you have got nothing by it in this world, and you have lost your all in the next. For your idleness and wickedness are generally found out, and your bodies suffer for it here; and what is far worse, if you do not repent and amend, your unhappy souls will suffer for it hereafter.

“ ‘Having thus shown you the chief duties you owe to your great Master in heaven, I now come to lay before you the duties you owe to your masters and mistresses here upon earth. And for this you have one general rule, that you ought always to carry in your minds; and that is, to do all service for them as if you did it for God himself.

“ ‘Poor creatures! you little consider, when you are idle and neglectful of your masters’ business, when you steal, and waste, and hurt any of their substance, when you are saucy and impudent, when you are telling them lies and deceiving them, or when you prove stubborn and sullen, and will not do the work you are set about without stripes and vexation,—you do not consider, I say, that what faults you are guilty of towards your masters and mistresses are faults done against God himself, who hath set your masters and mistresses over you in His own stead, and expects that you would do for them just as you would do for Him. And pray do not think that I want to deceive you when I tell you that your masters and mistresses are God’s overseers,

and that, if you are faulty towards them, God Himself will punish you severely for it in the next world, unless you repent of it, and strive to make amends by your faithfulness and diligence for the time to come; for God Himself hath declared the same.

“ ‘And in the first place, you are to be obedient and subject to your masters in all things. \* \* \* And Christian ministers are commanded to “exhort servants to be obedient unto their masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering them again, or gainsaying.” \* \* \* You are to be faithful and honest to your masters and mistresses, not purloining or wasting their goods or substance, but showing all good fidelity in all things. \* \* \* Do not your masters, under God, provide for you? And how shall they be able to do this, to feed and to clothe you, unless you take honest care of every thing that belongs to them? Remember that God requires this of you; and if you are not afraid of suffering for it here, you cannot escape the vengeance of Almighty God, who will judge between you and your masters, and make you pay severely, in the next world, for all the injustice you do them here. And though you could manage so cunningly as to escape the eyes and hands of man, yet think what a dreadful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God, who is able to cast both soul and body into hell!’ ”

(To be continued.)

#### THE HON. CHARLES SUMNER'S HEALTH.

THE *New-York Tribune* of the 2nd Sept. ult. contains the following highly interesting letter on the state of Mr. Sumner’s health, respecting which so much apprehension is entertained. The account is far from encouraging, but there is still hope.

“Swissvale, Saturday, Aug. 22, 1856.

“With many thousands of Mr. Sumner’s friends in Western Pennsylvania I have long resisted the spirit which impels us all to seek his presence and offer tributes of respect; but it has been almost beyond human endurance to read the reports that are constantly circulated about him. His friends have been informing us that ‘a gentleman of our acquaintance’ has visited Mr. Sumner and found him so and so. Then, ‘a celebrated physician of Philadelphia’ has said so and so. Next, ‘a well-known clergyman,’ of somewhere, has been with him, and thinks thus and so. One time he has been convalescent, and will be about in a couple of weeks; and, next, there is great danger of his intellect being forever extinguished. All this sounded mysteriously, and the enemies of the freedom of Congressional debate have taken advantage of this mystery to spread the impression that there was some juggling about it—that he was made to appear ill for political effect. A brutal attack upon him in *The Hollidaysburg Standard* revealed the fact that he was receiving visitors who were far from being friends, and I resolved to go at once and see what it all meant.

“I found him at the private residence of Dr.

Jackson, whom, with his amiable wife, I have for some years claimed as personal friends; and I remained with them two days to find out the secret of the conflicting accounts of his health. The Rev. Mr. Furness, of Philadelphia, is staying with him; he has been his companion a greater part of the time since he left Washington. He consulted Dr. Wistar, of Philadelphia, who gave it as his opinion that there was serious danger of a chronic congestion of the brain, and recommended Cape May. He went there, and returned to Philadelphia nothing better, when Dr. Wistar insisted upon Alleghany Mountain air; and, wishing to avoid the publicity of a hotel, he took lodgings at Dr. Jackson's private residence. The doctor is a Democrat, and most accomplished surgeon, and says he thinks there is blood now settled or congested in the vessels of the membrane which lines the brain-pan, but that with plenty of mountain air, generous diet, and exercise, it will gradually be absorbed, and he be restored to his full vigour.

"For the two days I was there I watched Mr. Sumner closely, bringing to bear upon his case a thirty years' experience of frequent and sometimes long periods of nursing the sick, and think there is ample room for the worst apprehensions of his friends. He rides on horseback, over the roughest mountain paths, twelve or fourteen miles a day, and returns with a good appetite for dinner; but a walk of a quarter of a mile prostrates him very much. Prior to this injury, he was considered the best pedestrian in Washington, and ten or twelve miles was only pleasant exercise to him.

"He has all the impatience of ordinary men in illness, or in the prospect of restraint, and assures everybody that he is doing very well, feels very well, is quite strong, and will surely be able to go to Washington in two weeks. Mr. Burlingame assures me, with tears in his eyes, that this is what he always said. Ever since his injury, he has been going to be quite well in two weeks; but when he rises from his chair he takes hold of the table. His gait, at a first glance, appears that of a man ninety years of age; but, watching him a while, I felt that it was the very kind of step one takes when creeping through a darkened chamber under the influence of a paroxysm of nervous headache; but he says, with a kind of lofty, incredulous scorn, that his head does not ache! Sometimes he feels a pressure on the top of his head, and it appears to hurt him when he walks; but he will be ready to go to Washington in two weeks.

"It is a remarkable fact, that I never saw a sick man who was not either going to die in half an hour, or would not be ready to go to Washington in two weeks.

"Mr. Burlingame came on Friday evening, about six o'clock, in company with a gentleman and lady from Philadelphia. He had not before seen Mr. Sumner since the Brooks challenge, and we all sat together until after eleven o'clock: there was so much to be told, and said, and explained. Without any personal resemblance, these two appeared together like father and son; but I could give no idea of their interview, even so much of it as the sacredness of private conversation would permit to be made public, in less than

a column, and Mr. Sumner crowds every thing from my thoughts just now. When his friends left, he had no disposition to retire, and, when he did, slept but one hour. Next morning his pulse was very rapid, but he took his usual morning ride, in company with Mr. Burlingame, the doctor, and the ladies of the party who wished to go. They returned in a great flow of spirits, and, after dinner, the senator from Massachusetts was formally expelled from the library, by a vote of the house. He retired, but did not sleep. By a strong effort I denied myself the gratification of spending Sabbath with him, and came home in the night train, feeling very sadly. I tried to induce him to come down to Swissvale, where the air is scarcely less pure, and the scenery finer than on the mountains, and where he would be as nearly out of the world as he could well be, while near a railroad and telegraph; but he thinks he must go in the other direction—the direction of his duties—to Washington, to settle his affairs there, and then to the stump, to labour in the campaign. For the issue, the fearful issue! Freedom has no advocate to spare. He is resting now, and will soon be strong—enjoying idleness, refraining from all intellectual labour, and recruiting so fast. He only reads and writes about ten letters a-day, laying his hand every few moments, while absorbed at his desk, upon the top of his head, creeping, with his unsteady gait, his hand upon a table or back of a chair, or on the small of his own back, to lie down upon the sofa; and, when he feels rested, back to his desk again. But he says these are letters which require no intellectual effort. He must write to his friends in Washington to stand fast by their position on the Army Bill. Oh, if he only had a seat in the House now! Every thing depends upon the House. He must read *The Tribune*, and quite a number of other papers, then the despatches from Kansas. The Free-State settlers, he fears, will be exterminated, and he watches every conflicting account with about that degree of interest which a man out on a plank at sea would feel for a sail in sight. He appears to forget that the civilization of the world—that God and humanity—have sent him up to the Alleghany Mountains to take care of Charles Sumner's head; that the ardour with which he throws himself into a political conversation with any visitor is in great part born of a diseased action of the brain, and that by it the words for which the world is waiting have been expended on three drunken men. One of the scars upon his head has still a red, angry appearance, and, if his face was turned up at the time of the assault, his intended murderer must have been very much above him, for the scars are on the back part of the top of his; and this red wound must have been inflicted while his head lay with the face downward. It must have required a very forcible blow to open the scalp through the masses of coarse, strong hair with which his head is crowned—that head so comely and so wise, in every lineament of which the 'white soul' speaks so eloquently. One does not easily consent to see it so, that it should be beaten with a bludgeon; but it was One who had 'done no violence,' and in whose mouth there was no de-



ceit, who was 'stricken, smitten for the iniquities of us all;' and if the Son of God was not too precious to be delivered up to the utmost indignities and violence from brutal men, that degenerate nations might be brought to see the beauty of holiness and hideousness of sin, Charles Sumner is not too costly a sacrifice to bring this nation to a sense of the value of her liberties, and the hideousness of the monster iniquity she has so long nurtured in her life-blood.

"Those mistaken friends of his who would fain see Brooks killed or maimed would greatly distress him if any such killing or maiming were done by their agency. He shudders at the thought that Burlingame might have shot him; and appears to feel about as much resentment against him as I should feel toward a tile which had fallen upon my head. I could not discern the slightest symptom of chagrin or mortification—no sense of the dishonour which so many attach to the blow unrevenged. I asked him if he would have defended himself if it had been possible.

"Most certainly," was the prompt reply, 'to the best of my ability, and the last extremity.'

"To Dr. Jackson's suggestion that the same principle which permitted him to defend himself when attacked should induce him to punish the offence, he promptly explained the difference between self-defence and revenge. He appears to have no idea, however remote, of personal enmity in the matter; but, if he was only able to deliver one more speech! His brain is throbbing with pent thunderbolts; and if he could only get into the citadel of his foes and hurl them hissing into their faces! Kansas, Kansas and her wrongs, if he could but fight her battles! He does not appear as if he knew how to be afraid, or could learn if he tried for a lifetime. There is a lion look about him, and a courage which could not stoop to assault so frail a thing as a human body. That little piece of delicate mechanism which was a handful of dust yesterday, and may be a handful of dust to-morrow, through the agency of a clod, a worm, or an insect, is not an object for the enmity of any creature whose pulses throb with a consciousness of immortality. Charles Sumner never can seek to strike Preston Brooks or any of his compeers; but that elongation of the snaky sorceress who sits at the adamantine gates—those scaly folds which have wrapped themselves around the liberties of our country and the hope of mankind, and is surely and steadily crushing them out—that long-lived monster who has fed upon the children of men since the days of Abel—she against whom the armies of Heaven gird on their armour, may look for telling blows from his good right arm, should he get strength to wield his weapons.

"That he may soon be able to realize his impatient wish, and throw himself into the front of Freedom's battle, nobody can wish more earnestly than I; but my hope is very much saddened by seeing him take these cautious steps which appear to fall upon the top of the pedestrian's brain, and to know that only such have been allowed to him for the last three months.

"JANE G. SWISSELM."

## COLONEL J. C. FREMONT.

### (Biographical Notice.)

WE give the subjoined from a recent number of the *New-York Tribune*. It is an extremely interesting, though brief, biographical notice of a very remarkable man, who is likely to figure prominently in the history of his country, and in that of the anti-slavery struggle.

"John C. Fremont, whom the People's Convention at Philadelphia have selected to head the grand exploring expedition in search of the lost and almost forgotten landmarks of the Constitution, is still a young man. His father, who died when he was a child, was a Frenchman, his mother a Virginian. He was born at Savannah on the 21st of January 1813, and educated at Charleston, South Carolina, where his mother, left a widow with three children, had taken up her residence. The circumstances of the family were exceedingly narrow, and the childhood of Fremont was surrounded by privations and difficulties which, with a powerful nature like his, naturally tended to develop the heroic elements of his character.

"At Charleston Fremont enjoyed the instructions of Dr. John Robertson, who, in the preface to a translation of Xenophon's *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, which he published in 1830, records with pride the remarkable proficiency of his pupil. In 1828 he entered the junior class of Charleston College; after leaving which he employed himself for some time as a teacher of mathematics. In 1833 he obtained that post on board the sloop-of-war *Natchez*, which had been sent to Charleston to put down the Nullifiers (a purpose similar to that for which he is now nominated for President), and on board of her he made a cruise of two years and a half. On his return he adopted the profession of a surveyor and railroad engineer, and was employed in that capacity, under Captain Williams, of the Topographical Engineers, in the survey of a route from Charleston to Cincinnati. When the survey was suspended he accompanied Captain Williams in a reconnoissance of the country then occupied by the Cherokees; after which he joined M. Nicolet, a distinguished French *savan* in the employ of the United States, in an exploring expedition over the north-western prairies. He was employed in this survey, in which he acted as principal assistant, during the years 1838 and 1839, and while absent upon it was appointed a Second Lieutenant in the corps of Topographical Engineers. While reducing the materials of this survey, and preparing maps and a report, he resided for some time at Washington, where he formed the acquaintance of the family of Mr. Benton, resulting in his marriage, in 1841, to one of Mr. Benton's daughters.

"Shortly after—in May 1842—he started on the first of his three great exploring expeditions. This expedition, which occupied about five months, resulted in the exploration of the famous South Pass across the Rocky Mountains, and in the ascent by Fremont and four of his men of the Wind-River peak, the highest summit of the Rocky-Mountain chain. The report of this exploration attracted great attention, both at home

and abroad, as well for its unpretending modesty, as for the importance of the information contained in it. This report was scarcely published when its author started on a second expedition, designed to connect the discoveries of the first one with the surveys to be made by Commodore Wilkes, of the Exploring Expedition, on the Pacific coast, and thus to embrace a connected survey of the almost unknown regions on both sides of the Rocky Mountains. The party, including thirty-nine persons, started from the village of Kansas on the 29th of May 1843, and were employed in the exploration till August of the next year. It was this exploration that first furnished any accurate information as to the great Salt Lake, the great interior basin of Utah, and the mountain range of the Sierra Nevada, and first brought to light, as it were, the region now constituting the territory of Utah, and the State of California.

"After preparing the report of this expedition in the spring of 1845, Fremont (now a captain) set out on a third expedition, designed to make a more particular survey of the regions which he had previously visited. It was while engaged in this expedition, and before he had received any intimation of the commencement of the war with Mexico, that, after having himself been once ordered off by the authorities, he was induced, by the entreaties of the American settlers in the valley of the Sacramento, whom the Mexicans threatened to drive out of the country, to put himself at their head. Thus led, they defeated the Mexicans. Fremont put himself into communication with the naval commanders on the coast, and soon, in conjunction with Commodore Stockton, obtained complete possession of California, of which, on the 24th of August, he was appointed by Stockton military commander. The fighting, however, was not yet over. The Californians rose in insurrection; but the arrival of Gen. Kearney with his dragoons from New Mexico, enabled the Americans, after some hard-fought battles, to maintain themselves in possession. Pending these operations, a commission arrived for Fremont as lieutenant-colonel—a promotion which neither he nor his friends had solicited, but which he gladly received as a ratification on the part of the Government of his intervention, on his own responsibility, in the affairs of California.

"From the moment of Kearney's arrival a dispute had sprung up between him and Commodore Stockton as to the chief command. Kearney sought to throw upon Fremont the responsibility of deciding between their respective claims. This he declined, professing his readiness, if they would agree between themselves, to obey either; but declaring his intention, till that point was settled, to continue to obey the commander under whom he had first placed himself, and by whom the war had been conducted. Kearney was greatly dissatisfied at this, but dissembled his resentment till they both reached Fort Leavenworth on their return home, when he arrested Fremont for disobedience of orders, and brought him to trial before a court-martial.

"As this Court held that Kearney was the rightful commander, they found Fremont guilty of the charges, and sentenced him to be dismissed

from the service. Mr. Polk, then President, signed the sentence as being technically right, but at the same time offered Fremont a new commission of the same grade as that of which he had been deprived. This Fremont refused, and returned a simple citizen to private life. Thus discharged from the service of the Government, he undertook a fourth exploring expedition of his own, with a view to discover a passage across the Rocky Mountains southerly of the South Pass, near the head of the Arkansas, which might serve the purpose of a railroad communication with California. He started from Pueblo, on the Upper Arkansas, with thirty-three men, and a hundred and thirty-three mules; but, misled by his guides, all his mules, and a third of his men, perished in the snows and cold of the Sierra San Juan, and he himself arrived on foot at Santa Fé with the loss of every thing but his life. Not, however, to be baffled, he refitted the expedition, and in a hundred days, after fresh dangers, reached the banks of the Sacramento.

"In the rising State of California, in which he had become one of the earliest American proprietors by the purchase, during his former visit, of the since famous Mariposa grant, Mr. Fremont took a great interest. He was active in the formation of the State Constitution, and in securing in that document a positive exclusion of Slavery, and was chosen one of the first Senators to represent the new State in Congress. A short term of two years fell to his lot, and, owing to the delay in the admission of the State, he sat in the Senate only one short session. On the expiration of his term the political control of the State had passed into new hands, of which a striking proof was given in the choice of John B. Weller, a decided pro-slavery man, as his successor in the Senate.

"Mr. Fremont now devoted himself to developing the resources of his California estate, which had been discovered to be rich in gold; but, in addition to the loss of his commission, as the only reward he had realized for his services in California, he now found himself greatly annoyed by claims against him for supplies which, during his campaign in California, had been furnished to the United States on his private credit. During a visit to London he was arrested on one of these claims, and it was only after great delay that the Government of the United States was finally induced to relieve him from further annoyance by the payment of these debts. In maintaining his right to the Mariposa property, he was also obliged to encounter many annoyances on the part of the Government, which resisted his claim, but finally, by repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, he triumphed over all of them.

"Having exhibited a singular force of character, and a distinguished ability in every undertaking to which he has applied himself, he has now been called, by the loud voice of his fellow-citizens in almost all parts of the Union, to place himself at the head of a new, more difficult, but at the same time most glorious enterprise—that of rescuing the Government and the Union from the hands of a body of unprincipled politicians, who threaten to subject



the country to the double misery of despotism and of anarchy. May he be as successful in this as in every thing else that he has undertaken! And that he will be, who can doubt? for surely every honest man in the country will hasten to aid him with his voice and his vote."

#### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

THE following items have been extracted from back American files, and, though somewhat out of date, are sufficiently interesting to be recorded. They have been shut out from our columns, owing to press of other matter of more immediate importance.

**SLAVERY UP AND DOING STILL.**—Senator Douglas is offering another bid for Southern support in urging the immediate recognition of Walker's Fillibuster government in Nicaragua. That Walker is an agent of the slave-power, and that there is a formidable conspiracy to plant Slavery in Central America, and then to annex the country to the Union, there is no room for doubt. President Pierce, it is said, doubts whether the time has yet arrived for the movement proposed and urged by Douglas, but he will not hesitate to obey the mandate of the slaveholders whenever they shall make known their will.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

**A HARD HIT.**—Senator Clay, of Alabama, in his recent speech in the Senate on the Slavery question, cited the following extract from Mr. Sumner's Faneuil-Hall speech of last autumn:

"Fellow-citizens, I have said enough to stir you, but this humiliating tale is not yet finished. An *oligarchy*, seeking to maintain an outrage like Slavery, and drawing its inspiration from this fountain of wickedness, is naturally base, false, and heedless of justice. It is in vain to expect that men who have screwed themselves to become the propagandists of this enormity will be restrained by any compromise, compact, bargain, or plighted faith. As the less is contained in the greater, so there is no vileness of dishonesty, no denial of human rights, that is not plainly involved in the support of an institution which begins by changing man, created in the image of God, into a chattel, and sweeps little children away to the auction-block."

Upon this pungent text, the Alabama Senator offered the following commentary. We italicise a sentence, to which we wish to direct the particular attention of our readers.

"What more of defamation, vituperation, and vilification could be expressed or conceived? What worse could be uttered of Barbary corsairs or West-India buccaneers? What Christian or civilized nation would form alliances with such monsters of iniquity, much less fraternize with them as members of the same political family, united by common interests, and devoted to the same civil destiny? What man of the least share of the virtues which constitute the grace and worth of manhood would take such miscreants to his bosom as friends, or recognise them as associates? *And yet those who profess to abhor, and condemn us when speaking behind our backs to a Northern audience, here, on this floor, and in this city, seek the society, and, when permit-*

*ted, make the acquaintance, of slaveholders, salute them as equals, cordially grasp their hands as friends, and court their favour with abject sycophancy!*"

We do not know that Mr. Sumner was hit by this retort, but there are Northern men who ought to feel it keenly. If the North were indeed *in earnest for freedom*, she would no more consent to a governmental copartnership with slaveholders, than an honest man would consent to share the same bed with a thief or a pickpocket. Down with a Union which seeks to fraternize Liberty with Slavery, Truth with Falsehood, Christ with Belial!—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

**NEGRO-STEALING IN SOUTH CAROLINA.**—A letter to the *Columbia Times*, dated Sumpter, S.C., April 11, mentions that the Court is in session, and then says:

"On Tuesday night we were all thrown into a state of excitement by the apprehension of one of our *quasi* merchants for negro-stealing. The negroes are returned, and the parties who were concerned in their purchase will bear testimony in the case. Perhaps it is not proper I should say more before the trial, as a good deal of excitement has prevailed in this vicinity for some weeks, on account of the frequent and mysterious disappearing of slaves from their owners. The accused will be put upon his trial next week, unless his counsel make a strong showing for its postponement."

The *Times*, in publishing the letter, remarks:

"We have been informed recently, by influential gentlemen, that there was some ground for the belief that there exists throughout the Southern States, especially on the line of railroad communication, a regularly-organized band of negro emancipators, who are engaged in negro-stealing, and furnishing means for their escape to free States. When we received this information, we regarded it as mere conjecture, and suffered it to pass; but the letter of our Sumpter-ville correspondent has removed every doubt, by disclosing the fact, that a merchant at Sumpter-ville has been detected and apprehended for being engaged in negro-stealing. The disclosure has created great excitement."

**THE CRIME OF COLOUR.**—Asbury Young, a coloured hackman of this city, the proprietor of his own hack and horses—an establishment that cost nearly 1000 dollars—was, on Saturday morning last, engaged by Judge Porter, of Covington, to drive him and his lady over to their home. They left here at six o'clock in the morning. Immediately on their landing from the ferry-boat on the Kentucky shore the hackman was seized by the police, who insisted on carrying him to jail. Judge Porter interfered for his protection; and, though he knew him to be free, still he was not able to protect him from arrest.

He was finally taken before the Mayor, where Judge Porter appeared and pleaded his cause; but he was fined three dollars, and, after a delay of three hours and a-half, permitted to return to Ohio.—*Cin. Gazette*, 28th ult.

Thus we see that a free man of colour, even in the prosecution of his legitimate calling, cannot set foot on the soil of Kentucky without subjecting himself to arrest, fine, and imprisonment. In this case, friends were at hand to defend him,

and to see that so much justice was rendered him as was necessary to secure for him his freedom. But, under other circumstances, he might have been sold into Slavery, to satisfy the fees of those who arrested him. Many a poor fellow is thus caught by the black code.

And yet, almost in the same hour that this free man was arraigned for visiting a slave State, the Judges of the United-States Court are said to have decided that it was the right of the master to carry his slaves into any free State he shall choose! The laws are to be construed against freedom, and in favour of those who hold man as property! Why should not Kansas be made a slave State?—*Alb. Eve. Journal*.

**SOUTHERN LAND-MURDER.** A correspondent of the *American Farmer*, published in Baltimore, presents the following discouraging picture of agriculture in several of the Southern States. Is not this deplorable waste of the fertility of the soil attributable, in a great measure, to the system of slave-labour? (*Friends' Review*, 19 Jan. 1856.)

"In travelling recently from Columbus, Mississippi, to Richmond, Va, through Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, I was struck with the hill-side ditches which I observed on thousands of rolling plantations in Alabama and Georgia, to prevent the washing of their loose soils, and which was, in fact, almost the only commendable feature which I observed in the murderous agriculture of the planting States.

"Just think, Messrs. Editors, of immense tracts of fertile soil, exhausted and thrown out of cultivation, in many places washed into gulleys, and covered with yellow broom sedge, beautifully variegated with the green foliage of upstart pines, before they are cleared of their original growth—the old dead trees standing yet quite thick upon the ground! What possible apology can these vandals offer to posterity for the destruction of their rich inheritance, when, by good ploughing, with two mule-ploughs, instead of scratching the surface with a one-mule scarifier; by horizontal ditching, to prevent the washing of undulating lands; by sowing rye and oat pastures for their stock; by always sowing their corn-fields broadcast with the Southern Pea, at the last ploughing; and by preparing their lands by pea-fallows, for the wheat crops, as recommended by that great farmer, E. Ruffin, in his Agricultural Essay, (which ought to be in the hands of every Southern farmer,) our planters might not only preserve their lands in fertility, but would, from the outset, fill their corn-cribs, and smoke-houses, and cotton-pens, to bursting. This system will have to be adopted, sooner or later, or the Southern country—the cotton growing region, I mean—will be exhausted and done-up.

**UNCONSTITUTIONAL.**—Every thing that facilitates the escape of slaves has been pronounced, we believe, unconstitutional. In this view of the case, we allege the freezing over of the Ohio River as decidedly unconstitutional, and we would call the attention of Congress to this matter. It breaks down one of the middle walls of partition between Slavery and the Gentile land of freedom, and slaves are availing themselves of this unconstitutional freak of the weather and river, and making their escape without any compunctions

of conscience. We hear rumours of numerous escapes, and so insecure is slave property regarded now that many masters near the river are sending their slaves into the interior for sale or safe-keeping. The moral character of Jack Frost, and the tendency of his actions, need investigation. The Lynchers of Brady should examine into this matter, as it is doing more against the peculiar institution than he ever did. Where is Shaw-shawshearem and the rest of the Pottowatomies?—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

**THE COLOURED POPULATION OF CINCINNATI.**—The *Cincinnati Sun* says that the coloured people of that city number about 5000 souls. Of their occupations and wealth it is stated—there are five physicians, one of whom has a very large practice among both whites and blacks; twelve grocers; thirty music and school-teachers; five daguerreotypists; one patent roofer; five bricklayers and stonemasons; two trunkmakers; twelve dealers in market; five or six boot and shoemakers; a number of excellent tailors, blacksmiths, and carpenters; and one hundred milliners, dressmakers, shirtmakers, and tailor-esses. Among them are Henry Boyd, one of the largest and best cabinet manufacturers in the city, who is worth at least 40,000 dols.; J. P. Ball, R. G. Ball, and J. C. Ball, who take as fine daguerreotypes as are taken in the world, and who are worth 30,000 dols. at least. The names of thirteen of these coloured people are given, whose property is valued at 10,000 dols., three 6000 dols., five 5000 dols., one 4000 dols., one 3000 dols., one 9000 dols., one 8000 dols., one 12,000 dols., one 14,000 dols., six 15,000 dols., four 20,000 dols., five 30,000 dols., two 40,000 dols. The names of twenty-five others are given; and it is stated that these and many others, whose names are not mentioned, have property ranging in value from 3000 to 20,000 dollars.—*North American*.

**INTERESTING CASE.—NEGRO BLOOD A TAIN.**—Mlle. Maria Susanna, a white maiden lady, in her thirty-ninth year, and a Creole, has instituted a suit in the Fourth District Court, claiming heavy damages of one Mathieu Richeto, for depriving her of her proper position in society, by industriously circulating reports that she is of coloured extraction. It appears that the lady, until she arrived at her majority, believed she actually was of African extraction, inasmuch as she had been reared and treated with all possible tenderness by Martha Don Andre, a mulatto woman, now seventy-five years of age, who resides at the corner of Orleans and Bourbon Streets, and who pretended to be her mother; a belief which prevailed in the neighbourhood, from the fact that Martha took her to nurse very shortly after losing an actual child of her own.

When Mlle. Maria became of age, then Martha told her how, in the year 1818, she had been brought to her a newly-born infant by a certain Madame Picot, with a request that she would nurse and rear her with all possible tenderness, for which she should receive a monthly stipend; and a particular injunction was made to keep secret the fact that she was the illicit offspring of a young lady of high family, who had "loved not wisely, but too well." Shortly afterwards,



the mother, a beautiful lady of twenty, called at the house, and, after obtaining the most solemn promises of secrecy, divulged her name, and the unhappy circumstances connected with the birth of her child. Martha, the nurse, was then living with a white man named Gibbs, consequently, Maria grew up in the belief that Gibbs was her father, and that Gibbs was her name. On reaching her majority, however, and being let into the secret of her history, she discarded that name and assumed the *status* of a free white person. Since then she has been hindered from entering society, or experiencing any of the courtesies due to her blood, by the alleged slanderous reports above mentioned, Mathieu Richeto being the head and front of the offending. Richeto, we learn, admits having made these reports, and stands up to them, asserting that he can prove the truth of them. It is a curious and interesting case, and will probably bring forth a racy trial.—*New-Orleans Crescent*.

**EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES.**—By the will of Mr. James Kelley, of Lancaster County, Virginia, all his slaves, amounting to about forty-five, have been emancipated. His executors are now in Baltimore, making arrangements for their outfit and embarkation to Liberia, in the vessel which is soon to sail from that port.—*Richmond Dispatch*.

### Miscellanea.

**A TRUE-HEARTED WOMAN.**—One day last week a lady of this city, well known to many of our readers, was passing hence to Providence on the railroad. She was occupying a seat by herself, when a well-dressed, intelligent, and apparently gentlemanly man, belonging to a party seated all around her, asked if he might take the place by her side, to which she politely assented. The party soon fell into conversation; and the outrage upon Mr. Sumner being alluded to, the well-dressed man aforesaid declared that he had no sympathy with the Massachusetts Senator, who only got what he deserved. He was only sorry that Brooks, by the manner of his assault, had given occasion for an excitement. The woman bore the rascal's talk for a time, but at length, when she could stand it no longer, she said: "Sir, it seems that you are an advocate of armed and ruffianly violence against unsuspecting and defenceless men for the utterance of their opinions upon a great public question; and as I have no assurance that you will not put your theory in practice upon myself, if I venture to express my sentiments as unreservedly as you have uttered your own, I do not feel it safe to sit so near you. I will thank you, therefore, to move, so that I can pass you and find another seat." These words were uttered with perfect calmness and womanly dignity, and they made the advocate of ruffianism blush to his very hair as the lady withdrew from his presence to seek a purer atmosphere. The rebuke, so timely and well aimed, was *felt*, and those who witnessed the scene will not soon forget it.—*Tribune*.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1856.

### THE STRUGGLE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE majority of our readers will probably have been made acquainted, through the medium of the daily press, with the actual position of affairs in the United States. Few persons, we believe, can regard without deep interest the struggle that is now taking place there, and on the issue of which depends, in a great measure, the fate of the terrible institution under which nearly three millions and a half of our fellow-creatures are kept in the most fearful state of bondage. It is marvellous to note how the encroachments of the slave-power have, though successful at first, tended to bring about the state of public feeling which now exists in the North, and the changes which are impending over the South. The Fugitive Slave Bill, whilst it can be shewn to have proved a failure, caused an appreciable revulsion in the public sentiment against the system which converted the Northern States into slave-traps, and their citizens into slave-catchers. The rendition cases which have arisen out of it have brought the North into collision with the South, on questions involving the prerogative of the free States, and the rights of their citizens. The ultimate result has been the strengthening of the friends of freedom. The Nebraska-Kansas measure, craftily projected and dishonestly carried, has proved rife with danger to the slave-power, and raised the issue, not whether the slaves shall be free, but whether the free shall be slaves. Whatever may be the result of the civil war now raging in Kansas, the hour is at hand when the scene of real conflict must be the floor of Congress. Already has freedom gained there more than one victory during the recent session; and as its champions become conscious of their strength, they will also become more united, more decided in their policy, and more adroit in their tactics. Severer too, by far, are the assaults which men like Charles Sumner make upon the system, than those which fellows like P. R. Brookes direct against its antagonists. The dastardly act itself, which has for the moment prostrated that intellectual giant, has shocked every right-minded man, and aroused the apathetic of the North to action. If the representative of one free State may be beaten with impunity by any cowardly Southern ruffian to within an inch of his life, for merely expressing his views on a public measure, why not another? And if so, then the question is, whether freedom of speech is or is not to

be enjoyed with immunity from personal danger? Whether the North will permit the South to bully its representatives into silence? Does any one doubt how the question will be answered by those most interested in the decision? The contest on the Army Appropriation Bill has, it is true, through the irresolution of a few timid men, at length resulted in the voting of the supplies without limiting the power of the President to employ them as he may see fit; but the smallness of the majority, and the trouble which the pro-slavery party had to assemble it, are unmistakeable evidence of the altering views of the Senate. All these are healthful signs; and to them we may add the daily improving chances of Fremont's success for the Presidency. If the non-extensionist party, of which he is the representative, should gain the day, the pro-slavery interest will receive one of its first mortal blows, and we may hope to see a decisive measure introduced for the settlement of Kansas, and the Missourian ruffians expelled. Perhaps, too, when the tide of public opinion has fairly set against Slavery, we may see the religious organizations of the State enter their protest against it, though it may fairly be predicted that they will be the last converts. But, under all circumstances, the prospect is hopeful, and the friends of negro freedom may take courage.

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE TO BRAZIL.

On the 21st of July ultimo, a discussion arose in the House of Lords on the subject of our relations with the Brazils, in the course of which it was alleged, that within the last twelvemonth vigorous attempts have been made to revive the traffic in slaves to that country. A somewhat angry correspondence had, in consequence, resulted between the British Chargé d'Affaires at Rio and the Brazilian Minister, giving rise to a considerable amount of crimination and recrimination. We place on record an account of the discussion in the House of Lords, condensed from the report in the *Times* of the 22d of July:

"The EARL OF MALMESBURY rose to move for copies of any correspondence that had lately taken place between Her Majesty's Government or the British envoy at Rio Janeiro and the Brazilian Government, on the subject of the slave-trade. It appeared, that owing to a correspondence, which he could not describe in any other terms than as ill-judged, the Brazilian Government were greatly offended with the Government of this country, and the discussions that had taken place in the Representative Assembly of the Brazils appeared to threaten a dissolution of the amicable relations between the two countries. It seemed to him that there was scarcely a single country the friendship and alliance of which were of greater consequence to Great Britain, than the

friendship and alliance of the Brazils. It was entitled to English sympathies, as well from its position as from its character. Great Britain had always been on very good terms with the Brazilian empire; but there had been disputes in relation to the slave-trade, which used to be carried on with great barbarity, and to a great extent, in the Brazils. In 1826 a treaty was made with the Brazilian Government for the total abolition of the slave-trade, and Mixed Courts were appointed for the trial of offences. Matters were, however, shortly afterwards in so unsettled a state in the Brazils, that the slave-trade was not suppressed as was desired; and in 1845 the noble Earl (Aberdeen), who was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, took a strong step, which he would not find fault with, as it answered its purpose, and was, perhaps, necessary at that time. An Act of Parliament was passed, prohibiting all Englishmen from carrying on the slave-trade, permitting British cruisers to capture all vessels engaged in the slave-trade within Brazilian waters, and empowering them to cruise in all Brazilian waters, and to seize slave-vessels under the very guns of Brazilian fortresses. No stronger step could be taken, and the Brazilian Government felt humiliation and anger at the terms of this treaty, although they were obliged to submit to the superior force of this country. Years passed on, and, partly by the efforts of our cruisers—and, it was only justice to say, partly in consequence of the sincere and loyal co-operation of the Brazilian Government—the slave-trade in that country decreased most rapidly. In 1852 the irritation and humiliation of the Brazilian Government were exceedingly great, for they thought Great Britain had legalized a kind of piracy for the purpose of abolishing the slave-trade. The Government of Lord Derby thought the time had come when the action of this law might be modified, and said they felt so much confidence in the loyal intention of the Brazilian Government to suppress the slave-trade, that they would not abolish that Act, but suspend it. Up to this time the Act had remained suspended, and the slave trade had decreased most rapidly, so that, in the course of two or three years, not more than two or three slavers were seen on that coast, and they had been captured and taken. About the end of 1855, however, a slaver managed to land a cargo, and it appeared that 47 of these slaves were kidnapped and taken up the country. Out of those 47, 10 or 12 made their escape, so that not more than about 20 of these slaves were taken. Mr. Jerningham, our Chargé d'Affaires at Rio, presented a note to the Brazilian Government, the terms of which, to say the least, were most uncourteous. Mr. Jerningham, after stating the extreme disappointment of the English Government at the laxity of the Brazilian Government, proceeded at once to say, that if there were any repetition of such a ground of complaint, the humiliating Act of 1845 would be put in force; and, not satisfied with that mortifying threat, he further said that British vessels would enter the harbours and rivers of the Brazils, and seize the slavers; and that, if the Brazilian Courts did not convict the offenders, English Courts would be found to have the courage to do so. He had hoped, that, from



the moment the noble Earl entered the Foreign-office, a certain style which pervaded the correspondence of that office would be at an end. The style he alluded to commenced in the year 1830, and continued to the year 1841. It then disappeared, but it began again in the year 1846, and continued to the end of the year 1851. It was a very peculiar style. Whatever the circumstances, the stereotyped despatch opened by expressing the unqualified displeasure of Her Majesty's Government, and concluded with some menace. The Minister of Foreign Affairs always sounded his trumpet from the highest note in the gamut, and the consequence was, he could never use any other note without descending in the scale. He did not think that was a judicious mode of conducting our foreign affairs, because strong nations retaliated by insolent replies, and weak nations retained a dislike to the English Government rankling in their minds, and, perhaps, leading to a dislike of the English people. (Hear, hear.) Although he might have had to find fault with his noble friend for exhibiting too much of the *fortiter in re*, he never anticipated having to accuse him of the want, as in this case, of *suaviter in modo*. The note from the Brazilian Minister displayed great anger and mortification, but was written in very dignified language. He said he had explained this very case to Mr. Jerningham; that he had shewn Mr. Jerningham many of the slaves had been recaptured; and that he had promised to recapture as many more as possible. That interview took place early in February, and the note was written on the 7th of March. He supposed, that in the mean time a despatch had been received from the Foreign-office in reply to the first account of the transaction which was sent home. The Brazilian Minister subsequently shewed that only 20 slaves remained not recaptured, and he said the pursuit was stopped because the prevalence of yellow fever made it certain some of the troops would be lost. The Brazilian Minister detailed the difficulties incident to the geographical nature of the country; and closed his despatch by expressing his astonishment at the humiliating threat of the English Minister, when, on the 4th of February, Mr. Jerningham complimented the Brazilian Government on the capture of the *Mary Smith*. When the Chambers met, great indignation at such a note being presented to the Brazilian Government was expressed by all parties. The King sympathized with that disapprobation. The public press, to a unit, was very violent against us, and two of the most distinguished speakers denounced our conduct as most unjust and insulting. Other members of the Chambers, perhaps with less judgment, but with not less power of mischief, said very openly, 'If we are merely to be considered as the slaves and servants of Great Britain—if Great Britain is to inflict these threats on us, perhaps to be followed by stronger measures, the only thing we can do is to form other alliances.' And then they plainly set forth the advantages of an alliance with the United States, observing that, with respect to Slavery, they would meet with no difficulties whatever. He would ask the noble lord whether such an alliance between the Brazils and the United States was desired by this country? (Hear.) Consi-

dering the amount of our trade with the Brazils, their political position, and their descent from our most ancient allies, the Portuguese, he conjured the noble Earl to pay that respect to the Brazilian Government which he thought they deserved, not only because it was our interest to respect them, but because they had really done their best to put an end to the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.) Of the good faith of the Brazilian Government he had proof in 1852, when he advised his noble friend (the Earl of Derby) to suspend the Act. He had now also private information to the same effect, on which he could depend, and, as the slave-trade could only be stopped by the determination of the Brazilian Government to stop it, he entreated the noble Lord, not to restrain himself—for there was no danger from him of useless and insulting threats—but to restrain the rude and mischievous zeal of his subordinates. (Hear, hear.) The noble Earl concluded by moving for the papers.

"The EARL OF CLARENDON was understood to say that he concurred in a great deal which had fallen from the noble Earl. He thought the noble Earl had not exaggerated the importance of a good understanding between the Brazils and this country, and had correctly described the advantages to be derived from it. We were extremely grateful—and that gratitude had been constantly expressed in Parliament, in the press, and in official despatches—to the Brazilian Government for the manner in which they had succeeded in putting down the slave-trade. He also took the same view as his noble friend about the Act to which he had referred. The Act was not in operation at the present moment, and the Brazilian Government were perfectly aware that Her Majesty's Government had no objection to alter the provisions of that Act, if equally stringent provisions to obtain the same object were secured by treaty. Such a treaty was under consideration two years ago, but the Brazilian Government objected to grant the same conditions. It was, therefore, the fault of the Brazilian Government, and not our fault, that the Act still existed, and, with it, the power of menacing the Brazilian Government. Although the slave-trade had been effectually put down there had been certain occurrences within the last year and a-half which raised well-founded apprehensions that the trade might be re-established. The Brazilian Government had neglected to take any measures for effectual colonization and immigration. The slaves had died off, and there had been a remarkable mortality, owing to cholera and yellow fever. The consequences were, that the hands for field-labour were very short, the price of slaves had risen enormously, and the temptation to engage in a very profitable trade had greatly increased. The prices were rising, and apprehensions existed that attempts would be made to supply the slave-market. Those attempts were made last year, and upon a very considerable scale, the parties no doubt speculating upon the duration of the war in which we were then engaged, and the consequent difficulty of sending a sufficient naval force, either to the African or to the Brazilian coast, to prevent the renewal of the traffic. In the course of the last year notice was given by the Brazilian Govern-

ment to the President of the province of Pernambuco, that a slave-ship was expected to land her cargo upon that coast. The vessel did arrive, and exactly at the spot which had been indicated, but the police were all absent; and it was only after some time, by the act of a gentleman residing in the vicinity, who took on himself the duties of the police, that about 160 of the slaves were seized. The vessel was a schooner of 130 tons only, which had on board no less than 250 slaves. So little vigilance had been used, so little desire existed to prevent the introduction of the cargo, that, two days after the arrival of the vessel, one person went down and carried off forty of the negroes, and, two days later, another person selected sixty others. Representations were made upon the subject to the Brazilian Government, couched in terms of courtesy, such as the noble Earl had prescribed. Complaints of negligence and connivance were made against the President of Pernambuco, who not only would not allow the police to prevent the landing, but also would not permit any inquiry to take place upon the spot, but removed the investigation to a place six leagues from that where the landing had been effected, and where all eye-witnesses of it could easily have been procured. Moreover, in order that the gentleman who had seized the 160 slaves should not give evidence upon the subject, the President included him in the list of persons accused, and thus prevented him from being examined as a witness. When these facts came to his (the Earl of Clarendon's) knowledge, he instructed Mr. Jerningham, in the event of nothing being done by the Brazilian authorities in consequence, to inform that Government that it would be the duty of Her Majesty's Government to enforce the operation of the Act of Parliament to which the noble Earl had referred. [The noble Earl then referred to a despatch from Mr. Jerningham, dated March 14th, in which that gentleman stated that every post brought him information of the renewed landings of slaves upon the coast of Pernambuco, and complaining of the utter absence of efforts for the restoration of stolen blacks. Mr. Jerningham further stated that he had brought the matter to the notice of the Brazilian Minister, and shewed him the private letters of the British Consul at Pernambuco upon that subject.] It was under those circumstances that Mr. Jerningham felt himself justified in acting upon his instructions, and in addressing to the Brazilian Government that notice to which the noble Earl had referred. It was perfectly true that the Brazilian Government was angry at that communication. It was also perfectly true that debates took place in the Brazilian Chambers upon it, and that the Brazilian Minister had addressed to himself a remonstrance, urging that it was a mortification to the feelings of the Brazilian Government. He (the Earl of Clarendon) had replied, of course, that it was not the intention nor the desire of Her Majesty's Government to mortify the Brazilian Government, but that the notice had been given from a fear that, owing to the altered circumstances of Brazil, great preparations were being made for the renewal of the slave-trade, and it was intended in a friendly manner to put the Government of that country

upon its guard, that it might take proper steps in that matter. He trusted that all ill-will had departed from the minds of all persons in Brazil upon this subject, and that the Government there had recognised the justice of the representations which had been made—as indeed he believed was the case—for it had already removed the President of Pernambuco from his post, and had given the best proof of its sincerity in undertaking to suppress the slave-trade, by appointing in his place the former Minister to this country, than whom a more honourable or upright man did not exist. (Hear.) Under these circumstances, and after the explanations which had been given, he hoped the Brazilian Government had ceased to entertain any ill-will upon this question, and had acquitted Her Majesty's Government of any wish to inflict mortification upon them. With respect to the papers for which the noble Earl had moved, some of them were already printed with other papers relating to the slave-trade, and the remainder of the correspondence, which had occurred since March last, would be printed next year.

"The EARL of ABERDEEN said the Act referred to had been introduced by himself ten or eleven years since, although with very great reluctance. He believed that Act was justified at the time by the circumstances which then existed, but undoubtedly it was a measure of extreme severity, only to be justified by strong necessity. At the time of the passing of the Act he had assured the Brazilian Government of his regret at having to propose such a measure, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than being able to move for the repeal of that Act. He had even hoped that the time for repealing the Act had come, and only yesterday he had been prepared to communicate with his noble friend, the Foreign Secretary, upon the subject; but he regretted to find that what he had imagined had been completely effected by the Brazilian Government had not taken place, and that there were some symptoms of a renewal of the slave-trade. Under these circumstances, he could not blame the threat, as it was called, of a renewal of the Act; but he hoped, from what had taken place, that the conduct of the Brazilian Government was, and would continue to be, such as not only would render unnecessary any enforcement of the Act, but would also speedily render its total repeal justifiable and practicable. He quite agreed with the noble Earl opposite, that this country was bound to regard Brazil with more than ordinary interest, for the conduct of that country had been very different from that of other States in South America. (Hear.) The maintenance of amicable relations with that country was most desirable, and he hoped the explanations of Her Majesty's Government would be sufficient to attain that end. (Hear, hear.)

"The EARL of MALMESBURY observed, in reply, that he thought his noble friend, or his agents, had been extremely mistaken in the manner in which the communications had been conducted with the Brazilian Government. It was with the manner, and not with the spirit, that he had to find fault with his noble friend.

"The motion was then agreed to."



Since the foregoing discussion took place, the Slave-trade Papers, Clauses A. and B., alluded to by the Earl of Clarendon, have been presented to the House (subsequent to its rising, we believe), and through the courtesy of his lordship we have been favoured with a copy of them. We shall give a summary of their contents in an early number. Meanwhile, we have looked through the correspondence relating to Brazil, and are disposed to acquit the Brazilian Government of wilful negligence. On the contrary, it appears to have exercised considerable vigilance, and to have succeeded, not only in preventing the landing of a cargo of slaves, of the arrival of which it had received information, but in capturing an American schooner, the *Mary E. Smith* of Boston, with some 300 slaves on board. It is scarcely to be expected that the officials employed by the Brazilian Government will always be proof against the heavy bribes which the slave-dealers are so lavish of, to secure connivance at their nefarious traffic; but the Government has evidently shewn the sincerity of its desire to extinguish it, by the alacrity with which it has dismissed the President of Pernambuco from his post; and it should rather be encouraged to proceed in the same course, by an appeal to its honour in the repeal of an Act which is evidently a cause of much irritation, than be constantly goaded to remonstrate with us for humiliating it by threats and intimidating despatches.

#### IMPRESSMENT OF FREE NEGROES IN JAMAICA.

Our attention has been directed to the subjoined paragraph, which appeared in a recent number of one of our daily journals. The subject is one of some importance, and involves one or two very serious questions. The following is the statement we refer to:

"Her Majesty's ship *Malacca* lost nearly all her crew at Port Royal, in Jamaica, from yellow fever. It was necessary to press blacks to work her to Bermuda. The crews of the *Hermes* and *Termagant*, in the West Indies, have suffered severely from fever."

The first question that this statement suggests is, whether it is lawful, in a time of peace, to impress men into the service of the royal navy. If lawful, the next question is, whether it is expedient to obtain by force, for such service, free persons of a race which seems to have been selected to suffer the most grievous oppression, and whose brethren in bonds are at this time objects of solicitude to all Abolitionists, who are daily loudly and justly reproaching their oppressors. If the special circumstances of the case rendered necessary the services of a number of the free

blacks of Port Royal, a rate of pay adequate thereto would probably have induced a sufficient number of them to ship themselves even on board this sick ship. We regard this act as a deliberate encroachment upon the liberty of our black fellow-subjects, and the subject is one to which we shall direct attention in proper quarters.

#### THE COLOURED POPULATION OF CANADA.

##### THE SETTLEMENT OF ST. CATHERINE'S.

WE have received, from our esteemed correspondent in Toronto, the following article in continuation of his interesting notices of the settlements of the coloured population in Canada.

"In my present letter I propose to give a brief account of the position of matters at St. Catharine's, through which many coloured people pass yearly. This town is situated in the centre of the Niagara District, on the Welland Canal, which connects Lakes Erie and Ontario. The Great Western Railroad also runs through it, thus making it a place of considerable importance. It contains a population of about 7000, of whom about 800 are coloured persons. There is also a very considerable floating population in the summer months, owing to the presence of some sulphur springs which were lately discovered, and whose waters are much spoken of for their healing virtues. I forgot to say that there is a second railroad passing it, connecting it with Port Dalhousie at the entrance of the canal on the Lake Ontario side, and with Thorold, a town on the Great Western Road, some six miles on the opposite side.

"During the last twenty-five years, St. Catharine's has been a halting-place for fugitives from Slavery, and during that time many of them have fixed in it their permanent abodes. There are two churches belonging to the coloured race: in one of them the Baptists worship, in the other the Methodists. The Methodist chapel is quite an elegant structure: it was opened for public worship last autumn, and can accommodate about 400 persons. It is the largest and best house of the kind belonging to the coloured people that is to be found in Canada, and is nearly free from debt. The Methodists have also a well-attended Sabbath-school, attached to which is a tolerably good library. The chapel belonging to the Baptists is smaller: it is also a good house, and free from incumbrance, a very important matter. The children of the Baptists attend the Methodist Sabbath-school. The coloured people of St. Catharine's have also a Temperance Organization. Morally and socially their position is not so elevated as their friends could desire, but it is steadily improving. Generally

speaking, they are industrious, temperate, and peaceable. There are, of course, amongst so many, a few idle, intemperate fellows, who bring disgrace upon the rest, and produce a prejudice against all amongst the unreasoning portion of the whites. This feeling of prejudice has long been marked in this particular locality, and has been occasionally attended with very unhappy consequences.

"There are several coloured men possessed of considerable property, and most of them are working their way to circumstances of comfort and respectability. There is also a large number, who stop here for a shorter or longer time, on their way westward, and who are generally in very destitute circumstances. To this class of persons, the Rev. Hiram Wilson has proved himself exceedingly valuable. During 1855 he ministered to the necessities of no fewer than 120. He was partially supplied by the Anti-Slavery Committee, from the money which was collected by Mr. Ward, in England. To Mr. Wilson's kindness to the fugitive many testimonies have been borne by visitors from the United States. Mr. Drew, whose book, *The Refugee*, contains very many interesting particulars regarding the condition of the coloured people in Canada, speaks very highly of what he witnessed in Mr. Wilson's house. 'With him, (Mr. Wilson)' says he, 'the refugee finds a welcome and a home; the poor stranger is pointed by him to the means of honourable self-support; and from him receives wise counsel and religious instruction.' Of Mrs. Wilson, Mr. Drew says: 'The wayfarer, however forlorn, degraded, or repulsive even, shares her hospitality, and is refreshed by her words of kindness and her cheerful smile.' Again: 'I have seen the negro, wearied with his thousand miles of travelling by night, &c., arrive at Mr. Wilson's house: I have seen such waited on by Mr. and Mrs. W., fed and clothed, and cheered and cared for.' Mr. Drew visited a large number of the coloured families in St. Catharine's, and bears testimony to their generally happy condition. One says to him: 'I am now buying this place. My family are with me: we live well and enjoy ourselves. I worship in the Methodist church.' Another says: 'I have been about among the coloured people in St. Catharine's considerably, and have found them industrious and frugal.' A Mr. Lindsey reached this town in an entirely destitute condition, and now he is worth from eight to ten thousand dollars. What is needed here is just what is needed wherever there is any large number of coloured people collected together, viz. some superintending hand to give a right aim and direction to their labours, one in whom they have perfect confidence, and one so entirely independent of them as to excite no envious feelings. They are generally

pretty jealous, and look with suspicion upon the offices of those whose circumstances are not so removed from their own as to place them above suspicion."

#### JAMAICA.

We have received the following per last mail:

"Jamaica, August 25.

"We are now ruled by a lieutenant-governor, the commander of the forces, Major-General Bell, in whom appear to be united the promptitude of the soldier with the frankness of a straightforward honest man, and the all-pervading manners of a well-bred old English gentleman. No opportunity has occurred to enable him to exhibit the patriarchal principles which they say he would embrace his government with; and as his post is but temporary, perhaps Jamaica may never witness the exercise of that fatherly protection of one and all of her inhabitants, which it has been her misfortune for years to have been deprived of. We do not know who is to be our new governor; indeed, people are become apathetic as to the person, being fully satisfied, that whatever the merits or demerits of the individual may be, so long as the Colonial Secretary founds his opinion of a governor's fitness on his own *ex parte* statements in his despatches, it is wholly immaterial who he is. The colonial policy of the Home Government seems to be regulated wholly by success; but it will soon be made apparent that success is not prosperity, and that it is an ingredient that enters largely into colonial systems, and is easily purchased. This island alone will afford lamentable evidence, in a few years, of the truth of the proposition. Sir Henry Barkly, it is true, succeeded in doing many things here, and his measures, when examined by red-tape officialism, obtained for him the laudation of a Colonial Secretary; but how, and in what way, were those measures concocted, agitated, supported, and obtained? and what fruition has the whole framework of society had? A few short months will shew that his great economic reforms have but paved the way to an extravagance of an extraordinary character, and the Colonial Office will, when too late, perceive that his government was as great a failure as that of the late Sir Charles Metcalfe's.

"The country labours not only under pecuniary but social and moral evils: their removal will not be achieved by a governor who is sent, either because he wants an office, or because the Colonial Secretary is desirous of appeasing the clamour of the West-India Board. No; we want a governor whose aim is higher; who, being above the influence of pelf or party, is able to be self-dependent,



who can undertake the duties as a labour of love, and shed around him that benevolence which sparkles with so much lustre in the character of a man like Lord Shaftesbury. We want a man who will be the friend of all, and not of a section; who will regard the negro as a man and a brother; and who, by his example, will give practical proof of the sincerity of his intentions. With such a governor—with a Shaftesbury—Jamaica would in a few years be the brightest gem in the crown of England. Her people are excellent, but they need encouragement and a healthy example; her dusky and ebon sons pant for knowledge, but there is none to impart it: they try to develop the riches of their fertile land, but their pigmy efforts meet no help: how, then, can they succeed? Man continues not to toil on the rough ascent of life unless he receives the encouraging smile and onward help of friends. But read the catalogue of articles exhibited a few weeks back at Lucea, in Hanover, most of them designed, composed, produced, or manufactured by the children of Africa, and without, or with imperfect, teaching. What would not the friends of freedom witness in this downtrodden race, had it the benefit of European teaching, and good sound English moral example! Here we must pray for assistance from home: our help can only come from the mother country. If you would, urge on the Colonial Secretary that we are British subjects—a part of the same great empire—the children of the parent State; that we require the assistance of our parent. We do not want protection, we want help. Give us schools, moral teachers, give us an industrious moral population, who can improve our own by their example. Instead of helping to banish Englishmen to America, to enrich that country by their labour, let the tide of immigration flow on to Jamaica. We have lands in abundance, and all within the grasp of the Crown. In the fertile and salubrious district of Portland, which possesses the climates of Southern Europe and Bermuda, thousands of acres have become vested in the Crown by reason of the condition of the original grants being unperformed, and there could the industrious of England find a home, and be welcomed by their sable brethren.

"I have spun this to rather a greater length than intended, and, while closing, I cannot forbear to notice to you the generous act of the peasantry on a sugar estate in St. Thomas in the East. A fire occurred there, and did much damage: the people not only assisted in putting it out, but gratuitously gave their services subsequently to assist in repairing the injury. What a contrast this is to the planters' avarice! When the price of sugar fell to 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  per ton, the planters appealed to the peasantry to reduce the rate

of wages. They willingly responded; but now that sugar is at 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  and more per ton, the planters pay the low-price labour rate, and I have not heard of a single attempt to make a mutuality of interest between the planter and his labourer. This is muzzling the ox that treadeth out the corn."

#### THE VOTE FOR THE UNITED-STATES ARMY APPROPRIATION BILL.

THE *New-York Tribune* of the 2d September ult. contains an analysis of the last vote of the American Senate on the Army Appropriation Bill. The Congress closed its supplementary session on Saturday the 31st of August, after passing the said Bill without the proviso against using the military power of the Government to uphold the border usurpation in Kansas. The House passed the Bill, again with the proviso, and the Senate—27 to 7—struck it out, whereupon the House concurred by 101 yeas to 98 nays, or by a majority of three.

The *Tribune*, after furnishing an analysis of the vote, makes the following observations, which will enable our readers to comprehend the actual position of the two parties, and the prospects of the Republicans for the forthcoming Congressional campaign.

"It will be seen that there was no finching on the part of the Republicans. Every Fremont member present (and the absentees were nicely balanced, and nearly all paired, so that their presence would have made no difference in the result) voted to stand fast by the proviso, which was beaten simply by a union of all the Buchanan men with all but three or four of the avowed Fillmore men, in opposition to it. These two parties, without counting the members from New-Jersey and other States who have chosen to maintain an ambiguous position as between Fremont and Fillmore, have always had strength enough to control the House when united: the Republicans have only triumphed at all through their divisions. They might have beaten Banks for Speaker and the Kansas investigation had they been united; just as they have now beaten the Kansas proviso. They might have beaten this before the close of the regular session, had they all been in their seats: they might have beaten it the first day of the extra session as well as the last, had they then been on hand. All they have now done is to recall their unpaired absentees in sufficient numbers to overbear the Republicans, as they would at any time have sufficed to do.

"The proviso was emphatically right—it was needed—it was in the right place—and it ought to have been carried; but one hundred and ten men, with ever so just a cause, do not outnumber one hundred and twenty. In behalf of afflicted, persecuted, ravaged, almost but not quite enslaved Kansas, we thank the Republican members of the House for their gallant stand on this proviso; the whole people, so far as they love the cause of freedom and humanity, thank them for it. The generous and free-souled

throughout the civilized world will thank them for it. In defiance of the grossest misrepresentation, they have nobly done their duty.

"We regret that the proviso did not prevail; but no blame rests on the heads of the Republicans in Congress. They have done all that men could do; and now, whatever further oppression may be in store for Kansas, they stand free from all reproach. Had they not earnestly tried to relieve her of the crushing yoke of border-ruffian usurpation, they would have incurred censures which now fall wholly on those who have persistently, obstinately, brutally insisted on leaving that most abused people unprotected in the power of the deadly enemies who meditate their extermination.

"A desperate attempt will now be made to convince the country that the Senate offered to repeal the border-ruffian laws, but that is utterly false. The Senate once offered to abrogate a few of the worst provisions of those laws, but only through the passage of a Bill which necessarily implied a recognition and sanction of all the rest, while putting the destiny of Kansas completely into the hands of the slave-power. President Pierce—who had already stigmatized the free-State party as traitors, and threatened them with all manner of penal discipline—was to select five Commissioners, who were to take a census, lay off election and legislative districts, determine who were and who were not legal voters, order an election for a Constitutional Convention, and supervise the returns. By the Convention thus chosen, a State Constitution was to be formed, slave-holding or not as the Convention should determine, and the people were not allowed to pass upon it after it should be framed—an utter novelty in American politics. To pass that Bill was to commit the question of Freedom or Slavery in Kansas to Franklin Pierce and his satellites. It was to reward the border ruffians for sacking Lawrence, dispersing the free-State Legislature, and shutting up the Missouri river against free-State immigration, with unlimited sway. Every man they had killed in Kansas, or driven out, or shut out, or deterred from going thither, would be one less for them to outvote or outcount in the election which must decide the question of Freedom or Slavery. To pass such a Bill at any time would be wrong; to pass it under the circumstances notoriously existing in Kansas, was to outrage every sentiment of justice, and affix a premium to systematic usurpation and crime. We thank the House for stopping that consummation of iniquity.

"The report set afloat by a *Herald* correspondent that an editor of *The Tribune* had blamed the Republicans of the House for the suspense of the Military Appropriation Bill, is not according to the truth. We are content with the issue as made by the Senate; and, since the passage of the House proviso was impossible, we were and are ready to go at once to the people. Hence we were willing to see the Appropriation carried over the heads of the Republicans, and the Session brought to a close. There was no need of wasting more days after the issue had been fairly made up, and it was certain that the Republicans, being a minority of the House, could not prevent the ultimate passage of the Bill without

the proviso. It is the fault of the Buchanan and Fillmore men who went off prematurely that this result was not attained days ago. And since it was inevitable, we are glad that the suspense is over, so that the members can go home to render an account of their stewardship. A hearty welcome awaits those who have been unflinchingly faithful to freedom."

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE AT NEW YORK.

In the reports of the officers employed in the cruiser service are to be found constant complaints of the bold manner in which vessels sailing under American colours prosecute the slave-traffic. In proportion as the vigilance of our cruisers has increased, has the astuteness of the parties engaged in the traffic been sharpened. The following statements, taken from the American papers, will shew to what extent it is carried on, what means are employed to evade detection and pursuit, and what gains arise from it. We have details, it will be seen, of the size and kind of vessel employed; the average of the runs required to make a venture successful; the rate of wages given to the seamen; the value of able-bodied male negroes, and for women and children; the mode of payment; the organization for kidnapping the victims in Africa; the arrangements for their location along the coast in sheltered nooks; the mode of shipment and their sufferings on board; the rate of profit on each cargo; every thing, in fact, proving that, to supply the Cuban market, the infamous trade in human flesh is organized on a footing as complete as when the slave-markets of the world were open, and that the centre of this abominable trade is New York.

It is alleged that the traffic is chiefly in the hands of Portuguese merchants settled in New York, and that so cleverly do they manage their affairs, that it rarely happens a discovery followed by conviction ensues. Why it is not possible to put a stop to these abominable proceedings, when the facts are notorious and the parties known, is a matter of surprise to all who know that our own Government was quite able to put an end to the despatch of slavers from Bristol and Liverpool, when once it resolved to do so. Can it be that the New-York authorities, like those of Cuba, receive heavy bribes for conniving at the departure of slavers? We cannot believe this is actually the case, and yet it seems scarcely possible but that there is great negligence, if not actual culpability, somewhere. It is asserted by the authorities at New York, that as long as the markets of Cuba are open, and the Spanish officials derive large profits from their connivance at the slave-trade, the evil must go on, for it is completely beyond their control. Under these circumstances—and we believe there is great truth in this statement—what can our



Government be about to allow our treaties with Spain to remain a dead letter? For ourselves, we fear that Spain must undergo a fundamental governmental change, before any steps are likely to be taken to redeem her honour. A Government is wanted that shall be based upon and pledged to liberal principles, in accordance with the spirit and requirements of the age. Let such a Government but present itself, and place before the world an intelligible policy, of which one feature shall be the abolition of the slave-trade, and it will receive the support and command the respect of Europe. As it is, Spain is a disgrace to the comity of nations.

We subjoin the extracts.

(From the *New-York Journal of Commerce* of the 30th of June.)

"Few of our readers are aware of the extent to which this infamous traffic is carried on, even by vessels clearing from New York, and in close alliance with our legitimate trade, and that downtown merchants of wealth and respectability are extensively engaged in buying and selling African negroes, and have been so, with comparatively little interruption, for an indefinite number of years. The fact that such a traffic exists in connexion with this port is well established; and yet, with but few exceptions, all the means that can be employed to secure the conviction of the guilty parties fail of their object, either through the cunning of well-feed lawyers, or, far worse, of proper evidence, and often the vessel slips off at dead of night. More frequently the slaver eludes the vigilance of the United-States' officers, by engaging in an ordinary trading voyage, and changing her destination, cargo, &c., to suit her convenience. The public officers may be well aware of her true character, and yet possess no power to detain her. So varied are the devices employed by this class of lawbreakers to escape detection, so slyly are their movements executed, and so incessant are their endeavours, under the powerful stimulus of inordinate gain, that the services of the Government officers are in constant requisition. We are informed by the deputy United-States' marshals, that they are well satisfied that at least fifteen slave-vessels have sailed from this port within the last twelve months, and three within the last three weeks. With such audacity is the villainy prosecuted, that while Marshal de Angelis was occupied about the seizure of the *Bramin* (whose officers were on trial for engaging in the slave-trade), advantage was taken by another vessel of the same character to glide down the river and escape. It is well known that within sixty days an old vessel was bought for 1500 dollars, refitted and altered to a topsail schooner, loaded with logwood and whalebone, and cleared for a European port, in command of a captain who was convicted at Philadelphia a short time since of being engaged in slave-trading; yet there were no circumstances which would justify the issue of a warrant for her detention, though the officers entertained no doubt as to her real character and

objects. It is satisfactory to know that few, any, American merchants are directly engaged in these transactions, the principal parties being foreigners, and most of them Portuguese. There is, however, reason to believe, that not unfrequently Americans share in the risks and profits of the business. The impunity with which these transactions are carried on may be inferred from the fact, that during the last year there have been but five prosecutions for any breach of the laws relating to this matter, and of this number the Government succeeded in procuring but one conviction, namely, the captain of the *Julia Morgan*. Startling as some of these facts may appear, it does not prove that this description of traffic is on the increase, but only shews that greater vigilance has been exercised for its suppression. Not long ago, Mr. Crawford, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Cuba, called the attention of Mr. Crampton, at Washington, to the fact that slavers were fitted out in this city, and asking his interference to prevent the sailing of a vessel that was then nearly in readiness. In the instance referred to, Don Jose Egea left Havannah for New York, (as Mr. Crawford asserts,) in order to purchase, through a certain house, a pilot-boat or fore-and-aft schooner, capable of bringing over 500 slaves from Africa to Cuba; the vessel to be provided with water, &c., and, thus prepared, to sail from New York for her destination, where the slaves were in waiting. Mr. Crawford remarked, in connexion with his despatch: 'Almost all the slave-expeditions for some time past have been fitted out in the United States, chiefly at New York, where there must be some establishment, ship or out-fitting, carpenter or builders' yard, specially undertaking such business for the slavers.' Most of the vessels fitted out in the United States for the slave-trade sail from New York, but a considerable proportion of them go from New Orleans, and occasionally from other ports. Here they possess every facility that can be had in other places for furthering their purpose, and the laws do not frown with such threatening severity and such certainty of execution as to effectually forbid their infraction. For while the profits of a successful venture are so enormous, men will be found sufficiently bold and avaricious to engage in the hazardous enterprise, trusting to their wits to avoid the cruisers, or wriggle through the meshes of the law. The vessels ordinarily selected are of medium size, costing not more than 5000 or 7000 dollars, bought with the expectation that they will be destroyed when their cargo is secured and finally discharged. Traders calculate that if but one vessel out of four proves successful they can well afford to incur all the losses involved and assume all the risks. Negroes are obtained on the African coast at from 10 to 40 dollars per head, and from 300 to 800 dollars is readily obtained for them when landed; so that a cargo of 500 slaves, costing 15,000 dollars, or 30 dollars per head, realizes the venturesome trader, if sold at an average of 400 dollars per head, at least 170,000 or 180,000 dollars, expenses deducted. It is alleged that the destruction of vessels in the manner suggested has a sensible effect in reducing the number of

vessels adapted to the slave-business to be found in market. They are sunk, burnt, or run ashore. It is but a few days since an account was published of a slaver, fully fitted up for her business, which had been forced ashore on the coast of Maryland, with her bottom perforated with auger holes, and completely abandoned. In most cases, however, the vessel lands her cargo, and is not afterwards heard from. Only to the deep bosom of the ocean is the secret entrusted. The manner of fitting out slavers in New York may be briefly narrated. In most cases a suitable vessel is first selected—a fore-and-aft schooner or large sloop being generally preferred—and furnished with spars, sails, &c. She is then towed up the river or down the bay, and sometimes to the east end of Long Island, to avoid observation, and there supplied with whatever is needful to perfect her outfit. For instance, the *Falmouth*, recently condemned for being engaged in this business, was taken from Astoria to Hurl-Gate, and, late at night, provisions, casks, boilers, and other articles were put aboard from a vessel which came alongside. Immediately after, the *Falmouth* was towed to Hurl-Gate ferry, and the sixty-seven casks with which she was supplied were stealthily filled from a hydrant. Had a permit been obtained, as legally required, suspicion would have been excited by the large quantity of water furnished to so small a vessel. This important part of the preparation accomplished, the *Falmouth* was taken in tow by a steamer about two o'clock in the morning, so as to get off Sandy Hook by break of day. Seen there at another hour, the vessel would be liable to be boarded by the revenue officers and asked to shew her manifest: having none, she would be seized. This is the predicament in which the *Bramin* was found, whose case has just been before our Courts. On her second voyage, the *Falmouth* regularly cleared from the Custom-House, with just a sufficient supply of provisions for an honest voyage; but after proceeding down Long Island to Gardner's Bay, she was supplied by another vessel with provisions, large boilers, timber for a 'slave-deck,' and bricks and lime to set the furnaces. She then sailed for Africa. A revenue cutter followed in pursuit, but without success. To still further diminish the chances of detection, slave-vessels no longer carry irons or shackles, as formerly, which, if found, constituted strong evidence of guilt, but employ as a substitute a kind of small nail, so made that the points stand upright when thrown down; so that in case of revolt among the negroes aboard ship, they are strewn thickly over the deck. On the *Falmouth* about 600 rings and ropes were found. These are some of the devices employed to profit by the breach of laws without incurring the penalties annexed. It is not at all unusual for foreigners to come to this port from Havannah or Brazil, buy a vessel, fit her out, and sail in her themselves, employing a shrewd American captain to act either in his professional capacity or simply as a passenger, surrendering or assuming authority as previously agreed upon. In other cases, vessels engaged in a legitimate African trade, in palm-oil, gums, ivory, peanuts, &c., are converted into slavers when opportunity offers. The

preparation of these vessels, in the city, is necessarily conducted with the profoundest secrecy, and with, to all appearance, the most scrupulous regard for all legal requirements. The United-States' officers may visit the suspected vessel without the interposition of an obstacle; but no one on board can give the slightest information. Even if arrested, the men literally know nothing. In the case of the *Falmouth*, all found on board were passengers, but were so strangely ignorant that they did not know where they were going, and the vessel had no owner or captain. The result was, all hands were discharged, though the vessel was condemned. Cargoes of slaves are obtained and discharged so as to evade capture, by the exchange of preconcerted signals between the ship and shore. The presence or removal of danger is thus readily indicated by 'bunting reading.' It appears obvious that the slave-trade, as conducted at the present time, and for many years past, must continue while the markets of Cuba are open."

#### A SLAVE-BARRACON.

"A Portuguese merchant, named Basilio de Cunha Reis, has been apprehended in New York, charged with being engaged in the slave-traffic. The affidavit on which the above arrest was effected was made by Andrew Wilson, one of the crew of the *Altivie*, belonging to Reis. Wilson's statement, which we take from the *New-York Times*, is as follows: I arrived in Boston in July 1855, from a three-years' whaling voyage. The money in which I had been paid off—as the wages of sailors generally do—soon disappeared, and I was obliged to go again to sea. I engaged as seaman on board the schooner *Mary E. Smith*. The captain told me the vessel was going to Montevideo, South America. We were not many days out before I discovered that the destination of the vessel had been misrepresented to me, and that, instead of going to South America, she was bound to the Coast of Africa on a slaving expedition. I found that the same imposition had been practised upon nearly all the crew; the second mate, among the rest, was imposed upon. The captain tried to smooth the deception over: said he was obliged to take this course, otherwise it would be nearly impossible to make out a crew. As the best satisfaction he could offer, he promised us all good wages. This latter proffer acted as a salve to most, for the pay promised seemed fabulous in amount: the agreement with ordinary seamen was 600 dollars, to go to the Coast of Africa and thence to Cuba, from which place the passage of each would be paid home: in addition to this, each was to have the privilege of taking to negroes to Cuba to sell. Sailor that I was, I had too much of the New-England blood in my veins to sell myself to engage in the slave-traffic. As I was situated, however, I could do nothing else but seemingly acquiesce. The second mate, I ascertained, felt as I did. Before reaching the Coast of Africa some lumber on board was converted into a slave-deck, and every thing prepared for the negroes' reception. Great care was taken to keep out of the way of vessels. There were several kinds of flags on board, of different countries, to hoist as was deemed most judicious.



Guns and munitions for defence were on board, to use in case of attack or other emergency. The *Mary E. Smith* landed at Cape Padron, on the Coast of Africa, and immediately set about getting a cargo of slaves. Before the entire cargo was taken on board the second mate and myself deserted from the ship and went to a slave-factory, or barracoon, as it is generally called, eight miles south of Cape Padron. We here represented that the cause of our desertion was cruel treatment from the captain of the vessel we had left. The *Mary E. Smith* soon sailed, and it was lucky that, in the case of the mate and myself, principle overcame avarice, for the schooner, as I have since learnt, was subsequently captured by a Brazilian man-of-war, off Brazil, where the captain and crew are at present imprisoned. The barracoon, where the mate and I were received, was under the charge of a Mr. Farré, who was employed as the agent of a large merchant in Lisbon, Portugal. Shortly after my arrival here the mate died. I tarried there two months and a-half, and during this time had full opportunity to learn the manner in which the traffic in negroes is carried on. This barracoon, like all other barracoons on the Coast of Africa, was situated in a spot as little liable to observation from the sea as possible: this was to prevent the detection of the locality by cruising vessels along the coast. The barracoon was a roughly constructed affair, and comprised two apartments, one for the negro males and the other for the women and children: each apartment was over 400 feet long, by 30 feet wide, with a space intervening of about 75 feet. Each structure was raised somewhat from the ground to prevent damage from the inundations to which the land near the sea-shore is liable. The sides and roofs were thatched. In the two buildings, I was told, there were sometimes 1000 negroes. The number depends upon the luck of getting in a stock, and the frequency of slavers landing on the coast. The way the negroes are obtained is by a regular system of traffic. Persons are trained to it, who do nothing else but forage the country and steal negroes. They bring them to the barracoons, and receive in exchange beads, calico, brass bracelets, old muskets, or rum. The price allowed for a stout, able-bodied negro is about 8 dollars, and for women and children from 3 to 4 dollars, payable in goods. No children are bought less than six years of age. Such is the infatuation for strong ornaments and rum, that parents sell their own children to the slave-factors, and husbands their own wives. The negroes, during their stay at the barracoon, are kept chained in gangs of from eight to twelve. An iron clasp is placed around the neck of each negro, and chains attached to these clasps: the parties are linked together. They make the negroes work, but keep them chained together while at work. The work they have to do, however, is trifling. At this place the nearest water was three miles off, and it was no small labour to bring the water necessary for drink. Beans, rice, and maddock was the principal food given the negroes. The latter is a root that grows there, and it is made into a sort of soup. No one but a negro could eat it. Within a day or

two after being brought to the barracoon the negroes are branded. Each barracoon has its own peculiar brand-mark, and chooses its place for impressing the brand. The more usual place is on the right breast. Sometimes it is on one of the arms, or the back, or one of the thighs. The instrument of branding is always the same, a heated iron, with the brand-stamp cut in it, like a post-office stamp. During the time I was here I tried to get away to go to St. Paul de Loando, where I might see the American consul; but the agent would not allow me to leave the barracoon. Although he received me kindly at first, he afterwards changed his manner. He was a very dark, sly Spaniard, and it was impossible to get his confidence. One would not think of confiding any thing to him. I saw he evidently regarded me with suspicion, and I only sought to avert his anger. I knew, if provoked, he would as soon make away with me as he would with a negro. He went heavily armed, and, while I was there, shot one negro dead for disobedience of his orders. At the end of two months and a-half a slave-ship came to Cape Padron, some eight miles above, and her captain and some men came to the barracoon to buy a cargo of negroes. This slaver was the *Altivie*, from New York. A cargo of 400 negroes was bargained for: the price paid for the men, those in the best condition, was 60 dollars: for the women and children was paid from 30 to 40 dollars each. Mr. Farré arranged with Captain Mishes, of the *Altivie*, to have me go with the captain. It was not at my solicitation, although I was anxious to get away. My hope was that I might get off in an English cruising vessel. As it was, I did not venture to make any show of opposition, but went on board the vessel and entered upon duty as a seaman. The *Altivie* was a schooner of 150 tons, well built, and a fast sailer. The negroes were quickly stowed on board: the major part were compactly huddled in the hold. Accommodations on deck were afforded for the women and children. There was here fresh air, but the condition of those in the hold was awful. They had to lie in spoon-fashion, and were not permitted to stir out. A tolerable supply of food was afforded, but water was sparingly dealt out. The vessel directed its course to Cuba: it landed at Santa Nearia, a desert island. During the passage 100 of the negroes died. The vessel was forty days reaching this island; here they sold the negroes to parties from Cuba, who were there in a vessel awaiting a cargo. Some prime fellows fetched 800 dollars each. Immediately after the sale the *Altivie* was set on fire and burnt. The vessel lay here eight days. Meanwhile the captain went over to Trinidad to get a passage to the United States for himself and crew; but as the charge for the passports was 6000 dollars, he concluded to go without them. I heard there that a great deal of money had been made out of passport-money, the whole matter being very handsomely systematized for the purpose. The captain finally arranged with the captain of the brig *William Heath* to bring the crew on to New York, at which port we landed on the 24th of May last."

## A PARALLEL TO FATHER DICKSON.

IN Mrs. Stowe's new work, *Dred*, there is an account of the Lynching of one Father Dickson, an abolitionist minister, who would preach a true Gospel to the slaves in South Carolina. Some persons may suppose that the picture is an imaginary one. Let such peruse the following statement.

EXPERIENCES OF ONE WHO HAS BEEN  
TARRED AND FEATHERED.

(From the *Western (U. S.) Christian Advocate*.)

## LETTER FROM THE REV. WM. SELLERS.

["We have at length obtained a full and reliable account of the late difficulties in Rochester, Mobile, which resulted in the tarring of the Rev. W. Sellers, and the shooting of Benjamin Holland, an aged and beloved member of our church. The account has been delayed till this time by the severe sickness of brother Sellers, the consequence, mainly, of his inhuman treatment.—Ed."]

"BROTHER CONKLIN—At your solicitation I herein transmit to you, for the benefit of your readers, a plain statement of facts connected with the recent mob in Rochester, as they came under my own observation.

"I had appointed Saturday, June 14, to commence a series of meetings in Rochester, and had written to several ministers to come and assist me. On Wednesday or Thursday previous a pro-slavery man, named Sims, was shot by a free-soil man, one Hardesty, because Sims attempted to drive him from his home or kill him. I arrived in Rochester on Thursday, about 12 o'clock. Soon after my arrival I was waited upon in brother Strock's store by a committee of three individuals, who said they were authorized by the citizens of Rochester and vicinity to inform me not to preach again in Rochester, and endeavoured, by threatening, to extort a promise from me to that effect, declaring at the same time that this North-Methodist preaching would not be tolerated longer in the county. I asked them for a few names of the citizens who had given them this authority: they had no names to give: I have better friends in Rochester. I then asked them if they claimed to be American citizens. They said I was a fool, and had better promise not to preach again in Rochester. I told them I would not make that promise; that I was guilty of no crime, had violated no law, and would obey God rather than men. I asked them what rights or privileges they claimed as American citizens, by virtue of their citizenship, that were superior to other American citizens. At this remark, without giving me an answer, they left the store, muttering that force would be used in order to stop me.

"I had some pastoral visiting to do in the country, and, after attending to that important duty, on Saturday morning I started for Rochester for the purpose of holding my meeting at the time appointed. As we rode into town we observed groups of men collected at the corners of the streets engaged in conversation. The ex-

citement appeared to be general. I rode through the village to brother Strock's stable to put up my horse, and brother Holland, who was in company with me, went immediately into brother Strock's store. I came into the store in ten or fifteen minutes, and found several of my Rochester friends, and some from the country, who had come to attend the meeting. Old brother Holland (a sainted martyr now) was standing near the front door. One of the leaders, with several others of the mob, were standing near brother Holland and myself, having in their hands a late number of the *Western Christian Advocate*, containing the report of the majority of the Committee on Slavery in the General Conference. I told them how that matter was adjusted, but all to no purpose: we were Abolitionists still, and I must promise not to preach, or else be mobbed. I said I would not do it. About this time the mob began to collect in front of the door. I suppose there were from 75 to 100 of them—some from Platte county, some from Buchanan, some from Savannah, and others from the vicinity of Rochester. Some were armed with revolvers, others had knives and clubs, while others had picked up stones in the street. One fellow cried out if he had me out of the store he would soon kill me. At that remark one fellow got me by the arm, and drew me to the door. Three others then came to his assistance, and, seizing hold of each arm and leg, they carried me to the middle of the street, raving, cursing, and yelling, like a body of savages who had rescued a prisoner.

"While this was transpiring brother Holland was shot, the ball striking him on the chin, passing through and breaking his neck. He expired in about twenty minutes. I afterwards understood that brother Strock was shot also, the ball cutting all his clothing and grazing the skin on his side. They also shot at brother Beattie, and missed him; and he then knocked two or three of them down, and escaped at the back door. These noble brethren stood with me in the battle till they were driven from their posts.

"While in the street the mob held a consultation over me as to the nature of the punishment I should receive from them, as the embodiment of civil power and the self-constituted guardians of society, for thus attempting to preach Jesus and the resurrection under the banner of freedom. Some said, 'Cut his — throat'; others, 'Scalp him'; others, 'Shoot him in the head.' At last they concluded to tar me. They then carried me across the street, between another store and warehouse, to a tar-barrel, which was sunk in the ground, and, throwing me down on my back with considerable violence, held me there while they consulted as to the manner in which the tar should be applied. Some said, 'Put him in head foremost'; others were for stripping me. One fellow swore they could not agree, and he would shoot me. He aimed a revolver at my head, but another wrested it from him, exclaiming, 'Don't shoot him: we will give him what we think he deserves.' At last they concluded to do the work without stripping me. After searching me, to see whether I was armed or not, and finding I had no arms concealed about my person, they commenced putting on the tar with a broad



paddle. After completely saturating my hair, they gave my eyes, ears, face, and neck each a plastering. I had on a black coat, satin vest, and black cloth pants. They tarred my cravat, my shirt bosom, and my clothes, down to my feet. They then let me up.

"I was so sore I could scarcely stand on my feet, but oh the agony of my eyes! they appeared like balls of fire, and I thought they would burst out of my head. Although it was noon, and the hot sun was beaming upon my head, I groped my way as at midnight. After I arose to my feet one fellow said, 'He has one minute to leave town;' another said, 'He can have five minutes, and if he is not gone in that time he shall be shot.' I groped my way into the street. They followed me with their revolvers cocked, telling me to step faster at the peril of my life. I was in so much misery I knew not where I was going. I could see objects, but could not distinguish one from another. By the time I got across the street, between brother Strock's store and stable, the tar had melted a little, and I could distinguish between males and females. Here were the female members of my flock in Rochester, over whom I felt the 'Holy Ghost had made me an overseer,' some of whom had ventured out in the midst of this mob to rescue their pastor from their bloody clutches. Some had fainted, others were crying and wringing their hands in excessive grief. I thought of the patriotic women of the Revolution, and that their daughters still lived to lend a helping hand in behalf of suffering humanity. I found my horse in the yard with the bridle on, and, with the assistance of one of the mob, I got the saddle on, and started to go to some place on my work as quickly as possible, to get the tar washed out of my eyes. The mob followed me, however, turned me back, and made me go towards Savannah. As I passed out of town I providentially met brother Chamberlin and his wife, who were coming to my meeting. (I hope he will write and tell you how they served him.) When I came up to them they did not know me. After I told them what had been done, brother Chamberlin asked me if I thought I could stand it to go to his father-in-law's, a distance of twelve miles. I told him I thought I could not endure such a trip, but was willing to try it. We rode as fast as we could, not knowing that the mob was in pursuit of us. When we turned off from the main Savannah road to go to brother Miller's they were not more than fifteen minutes behind us. After riding so far in the hot sun in my condition, I was nearly dead when we arrived, but, through the attention of brother Chamberlin and my kind friends at brother Miller's, in a few days I partially recovered from the injuries received. May they receive a thousandfold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting!

"These, brother Conklin, are facts, for which I hold myself accountable, and for which I expect to answer at the bar of God. May God take care of the scattered flock, and finally bring us all to heaven!

"WM. SELLERS.

"Anamosa, Iowa, Aug. 1."

## Rebels.

*Dred.* A Tale, by the Authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. London: Sampson Low and Co.

It is no detraction from Mrs. Stowe's genius to say that *Dred* is inferior to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. It is that lady's misfortune to have herself established a standard by which she will be judged as a writer, and in the present instance she has laboured under the enormous disadvantage of writing on a subject of which, for the purposes of romance, the first freshness is gone. In spite of the wonderful fertility of her imagination, it was next to impossible that she could avoid repeating in her new tale many of the characters, and even some of the incidents, which were introduced in her first novel; and, as might be anticipated, the portraiture is, by comparison, much feebler, and the mind is ever involuntarily carried back to their prototypes. *Dred* exhibits the same absence of plot which was so conspicuous a feature in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. We have scenes depicted and personages portrayed, admirable in themselves, but introduced without combination, and only, as it strikes us, to exhibit character and motive in isolated action. Notwithstanding its defects, however, in a dramatic point of view, *Dred* will be perused with avidity by thousands who were charmed with the graceful style of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and melted by its pathos.

The prototype of the personage after whom the tale is named was one Nat Turner, whose history is probably well known to most of our anti-slavery friends. He was the leader of the servile insurrection which broke out in August 1830, in Southampton County, Virginia, the chief incidents of which will be found narrated in the appendix, under the head of "Nat Turner's Confessions." Mrs. Stowe has invested him with the sombre attributes proper to a man whose dwelling was "The Great Dismal Swamp," and whose communings were with the wilderness. He is gifted with second-sight: he has a giant frame and organization, and believes himself predestined to achieve the emancipation of his oppressed brethren. He speaks the language of the Bible, like a prophet of old, and exercises over his followers the mysterious influence of a fanatic over superstitious natures. His entrances and exits are generally well-timed, and often occur with startling effect, imparting much dramatic vigour to those parts of the story in which he figures. Still we are led to ask wherefore he is introduced. His conveniently accidental death puts an end to the conspiracy he was meditating for an organized rising of the slaves, but all his mysterious goings and comings, his wild denunciations of wrath upon the op-

pressors of his race, his superabundant activity and restless vigilance, go for nothing, as they do not in any way advance the story, nor materially influence the march of events. Perhaps Mrs. Stowe felt herself under the necessity of adhering as closely as possible to history, and, thus trammelled, abstained from making what might have been made out of so grand a tragic element as *Dred*. In this respect the tale is unsatisfactory, and the reader feels that the authoress has used her great powers in vain.

Dred—who, by the way, forcibly reminds us of W. H. Ainsworth's Solomon Eagle—appears to have been introduced for the purpose of affording Harry Gordon and his friends a refuge in the Great Dismal Swamp, and for another object. This Harry Gordon is a mulatto slave, almost white, the son of his master, and the half-brother of Nina Gordon, who must be regarded as the youthful heroine. He and his wife, Lisette, are persecuted by Tom Gordon, his half-brother, whom no retribution overtakes, but who is left to head border-ruffian gangs of tarrers and featherers, and to conspire future mischief against Abolitionists. Harry is the manager of his half-sister, Nina Gordon's, property, which he administers with great skill and success until her death.

In Nina Gordon we have a somewhat eccentric young lady, who is extremely venturesome in engaging herself to lovers. Of them she secures three at once, but presently renounces two in favour of one Edward Clayton, of whom more anon. She plays the coquette with admirable finish, but is won from flirtation by the manly virtues of Clayton, whose wife she promises to become. At this interesting crisis, however, cholera breaks out on the plantation; the emergency develops her innate powers; she devotes herself to tending her sick slaves; is chastened by the scenes of distress and woe which she witnesses, and brought to an understanding of religion principally through the unaffected piety of Tiff, an old slave on a neighbouring estate, and dies just when the reader feels that she might conveniently have taken a new lease of life, and been of material aid to Clayton in prosecuting the humane plans he had conceived for the amelioration of the negro race. It was, perhaps, convenient to the authoress thus to dispose of Nina, as her death places Tom Gordon, the Legree of the book, in possession of the Gordon estates, and makes him absolute master of Harry and Lisette. This affords him the opportunity he had long sought of persecuting Harry and Lisette, who effect their escape from the plantation, and take refuge in the Great Dismal Swamp, whence they ultimately proceed to Canada, where they settle down in a "situation of comfort," obtained for them "by the

kind patronage of friends." Clayton is probably drawn from life. He is brimful of noble sentiments, and intent upon the working out a plan for the gradual emancipation of his slaves, but is prevented from accomplishing his object by the machinations of Tom Gordon. He undergoes every variety of persecution that this rabid Southerner can set on foot against him and his amiable sister; first the dark hints of suspicion newly awakened against them; then the threat indirect; next the open menace, speedily followed by a night attack upon his dwelling and his plantation, and the burning of his negro-school. Through a *ruse* of his friend, Frank Russell, he effects his escape, with his sister, and finally establishes a settlement in Canada of his own freed negroes, where the reader is informed "he and his sister live happily together, finding their enjoyment in the improvement of those by whom they are surrounded." We may observe, *en passant*, that Clayton supports the loss of his betrothed with stoical indifference, which circumstance leads us to infer that the character is one drawn from an original type.

By far the most striking personage is Tiff. He is an old negro, who has attached himself to the fallen fortunes of his mistress, a young lady belonging to one of the first "Virginny families," who marries a "poor white," one Cripps, the proprietor of a spirit store. Tiff has an utter contempt for the "poor white trash," his master, but his devotion to his mistress, a descendant of the "De Peytons," is unbounded. In delineating Tiff, Mrs. Stowe has surpassed any of her previous creations. His unaffected piety, his untiring zeal, and exhaustless ingenuity in devising "ways and means;" his never-failing cheerfulness and unflagging hope "in de Lord;" his jealousy of the honours of the family in which he was "raised;" his indomitable energy and perseverance; all these are wrought up with marvellous minuteness of finish, and, combined, form a picture that impresses itself indelibly on the mind of the reader as a literary masterpiece. Then the beautiful moral his conduct conveys in seeking to "bring dese yer chil'en to de kingdom," is alone sufficient to compensate for the many blemishes in the work. His mistress dies in his arms, in the midst of the greatest poverty; and this and the succeeding scenes are the very best in the work—at least to our appreciation. He thereupon assumes the maternal and paternal responsibility of bringing her three children up, one of them being a sucking baby. The latter is conveniently disposed of by cholera a short time after, and Tiff remains at Cripps's store, faithfully fulfilling the task he has imposed upon himself, until Cripps brings home as his second wife a brandy and whiskey-drinking virago. To



save the children from the contamination of the liquor-store company, and from the ill-treatment of Mrs. Cripps the second, Tiff "puts" for the Great Dismal Swamp, which he reaches in safety with his two "poppets." His faith in the power of God to "giv' de chil'en a breakfas' in de wilderness, like He did to 'Lijah," is of overpowering beauty. So, too, is his seeking "after de kingdom for de poor chil'en." His unwearied solicitude on this score operates at length upon Nina, as we have previously stated, and she is perfected in the faith through the simplicity and earnestness of this poor slave; something as Eva was influenced by old Uncle Tom. After the death of Dred, Tiff and the two children, with Harry and Lisette, take a passage for the North. His troubles are not over, however, for the vessel in which they have sailed from Norfolk for New York is wrecked. The last boat is launched from the ship into the boiling sea, the captain alone of all the hands remaining on the wreck, and with him Harry, Lisette, Tiff, and the children. Tiff insists upon the children being put into the boat; "aere won't be room for me, and 'taint no matter." And so he is left. But next morning the little boy starts up from a deep sleep, aroused by old Tiff's unctuous laugh, and, lo! Tiff makes his appearance:

"Why, bress de Lord, poppets! here dey is, sure enough! Ho! ho! ho!" said Tiff, stretching out his arms, while both the children ran and hung upon him.

"Oh, Tiff! we are so glad! Oh, we thought you were drowned! we've been thinking so all night."

"No, no, no; bress de Lord! You don't get shet of old Tiff dat ar way. Won't get shet of him till ye's fetched up, and able to do for yourselves," said Tiff, shaking his sides joyously.

"Oh, Tiff! how did you get away?"

"Laws, chil'en! 'twas a mighty straight way. I told de Lord 'bout it. Says I, 'Good Lord, you knows I don't car' nothing 'bout it on my own 'count; but 'pears dese yer chil'en is so young and tender, I could 'nt leave 'em no way;' and so I axed Him if He wouldn't jes' please to help me, 'cause I know'd He had de power of de winds and de sea. Well, sure enuf, dat ar big wave toted me clar up right on desho', and here I is. But it took my breff and my senses so, I did not fairly know whar I was; and de people dat found me, dey toted me off a good bit away to a house down here, and dey war 'mazing good to me, and rubbed me wid de hot flannels, and gin me one thing and another; so I woke up quite great dis mornin', and came out to look up my poppets, 'cause, you see, it was kinder borne on my mind dat I should find yo' all; and now, you see, chil'en, you mark my word, De Lord's been wid us in six troubles and in seven; and He'll bring us to good luck yet. Tell ye de sea han't washed dat are out o' me, for all its banging and bruising."

Tiff's prediction is verified. Within a couple of years after this event, an old penurious aunt dies, bequeathing a large fortune to the children of her sister. Of course, Tiff follows them to their new home, in a graceful village in Massachusetts, where Clayton pays them a visit. Tiff imparts to him a portentous secret:

"Dis yer an't to be spoke of out loud," said he: "I've been mighty anxious; but bress de Lord, I 'se come safe thro' cause you see I 'se found out he's a right likely man, besides being one of de fustest old families in de State; and dese yere old families here is 'bout as good as dey was in ole Virginny; and, when all's said and done, it's de man dats de thing arter all, 'cause Miss Fanny can't marry all di ginerations back, if dey's ever so nice, but he's one of our likeliest men."

He does not appear to have progressed much in his studies. In reply to a question of Clayton's, whether he can read a Bible that has been given him, he says:

"Why, no honey, I donno as I can rightly say dat I's learn'd to read, caus I's mazing slow at dat ar; but den I's learn'd all de best words, like Christ, and Lord, and God, and dem ar, and when dey's pretty thick, I makes out quite comfortable."

The last we hear of Tiff is, that he was seen walking forth in magnificence, with a pair of gold spectacles set conspicuously astride of his nose, trundling a little wicker waggon, containing a descendant of the old Virginia family, whom he informs all beholders is "de bery sperrit of de Peytons."

Amongst the subordinate characters is one Milly, the slave of Nina's aunt, Nesbit. She is a kind of a female Uncle Tom, only not so original. Her tale is on a par with Cassy's, Legree's mistress, and is powerfully wrought up with the view of inculcating the influence of religion in subduing the fiercest passions of human nature.

Aunt Nesbit is a hard, hypocritical non-entity, and, like Miss Ophelia, is probably the type of a class. She is an embodiment of selfishness and sham religion, and, wherever she is introduced, stands out in harsh relief.

In her delineations of the ministerial body, Mrs. Stowe has produced pictures which will be easily recognised, and which are by no means exaggerated. The temporising, do-nothing policy of the Northern divines, and the open criminality of those of the South, in their participation in advocacy of the "peculiar institution," are properly and unsparingly laid bare. In Father Dickson, we have an abolitionist minister-martyr. Unfortunately, the vile deeds of Tom Gordon and his reckless drunken associates, find frequent parallels in the States. The Rev.

F. Mathews, now in England, and whose case is recorded in the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, can bear personal testimony to the unsparing severity of Lynch-law in Kentucky. We presume, from the reference to his case, that he stands for the original of Father Dickson. Tomtit, a little black urchin, is a very feeble reproduction of Topsy, but does not, like Topsy, serve to illustrate any feature of the slave system, nor to bring out any striking moral.

*Dred*, as a literary composition, possesses many of those striking features which so captivated [the readers of *Uncle Tom*. It contains descriptive passages of surpassing beauty; strokes of humour that have never been excelled, scarcely ever equalled; whole pages teeming with the deepest pathos; and it is pervaded by a high moral tone which can leave nothing, even to the most fastidious anti-novel reader, to desire. Its purpose, too, is unexceptionable; and, in view of all these excellences, we are not disposed to dwell severely on its numerous incongruities of matter and style.

We infer, from the elaborate arguments she places in the mouth of her hero Clayton, that she advocates a gradual emancipation of the slave. To this object all Clayton's efforts tend; to it all his energies are directed. If he establishes a negro-school on his estate, and, in spite of the laws of the State, he teaches his people to read and write, it is with a view to prepare them for the freedom he longs to give them. If he pays them for their labours, whilst retaining his legal relation of master towards them, it is that he may demonstrate to his brother planters, not only the greater advantages of free over slave-labour, but that he may shew them how they may gradually free their negroes without detriment to their own interests as proprietors, and how they may attach them to the plantations on which they have been "raised." All Clayton's efforts are, however, rendered abortive by the jealousy of the partisans of the system, and by the laws of the State; and he is finally compelled to flee from the South, taking his negroes with him. Thus, Mrs. Stowe has only demonstrated the utter futility of any attempt to put an end to Slavery by such or similar means, so long as there are enactments which render them criminal, and place the originator of them in personal danger. But in such case, and as the emancipation of the slave involves a principle which Mrs. Stowe has admitted and accepted as the basis of the anti-slavery struggle, a disregard of which is the great and crying sin which she lays at the door of the American church—

one that is enrolled on the banners of the anti-slavery army in the North—the question that suggests itself to us is, whether it would not have been more advantageous to the cause it is the purpose of her writings to promote, to have made her hero a martyr for the principle, instead of making him suffer for a half measure. Clayton was forced by the intolerance of his Southern neighbours to renounce his scheme, and to run away with his negroes to Canada. But since he was certain to be driven from his home for his philanthropy, why not have made him a thorough-going Abolitionist at once? It should be the object of professedly anti-slavery works to present the highest standards and types of abolitionist excellence, and no one better than Mrs. Stowe can know that such types are not wanting. In *St. Clair* we had a model of the vacillating, easy-going slaveholders, who would have perhaps done something had he lived. In Clayton we have a quasi-emancipationist, who is resolute to carry out a plan which, as a keen lawyer, he must have known was impracticable, because the statutes of his State would not tolerate its consummation. Even his project to procure such an emendation of those statutes as should give certain legal rights to slaves, was vain as the winds, for, once possessed of them, they could no longer be slaves, and could not be held as such. Wherefore we repeat, it would have been preferable, in an anti-slavery point of view, to have made him an advocate of the principle of *immediate emancipation*, and let him suffer for it. He could at last, for all the purposes of mere novel-writing, have got away, with his negroes, to Canada, just as well, and would have more certainly enlisted the sympathies of the reader.

But notwithstanding many defects, *Dred*, we are bound in justice to admit, contains the elements of great popularity.

#### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following sums since the publication of our last list:

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